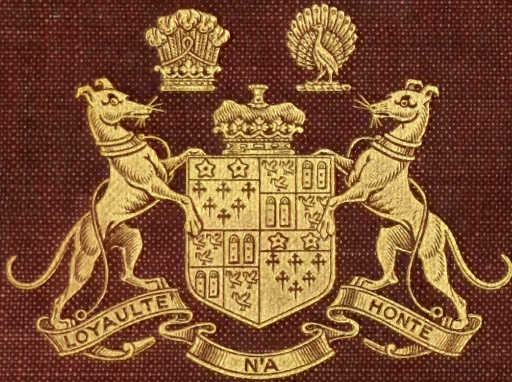




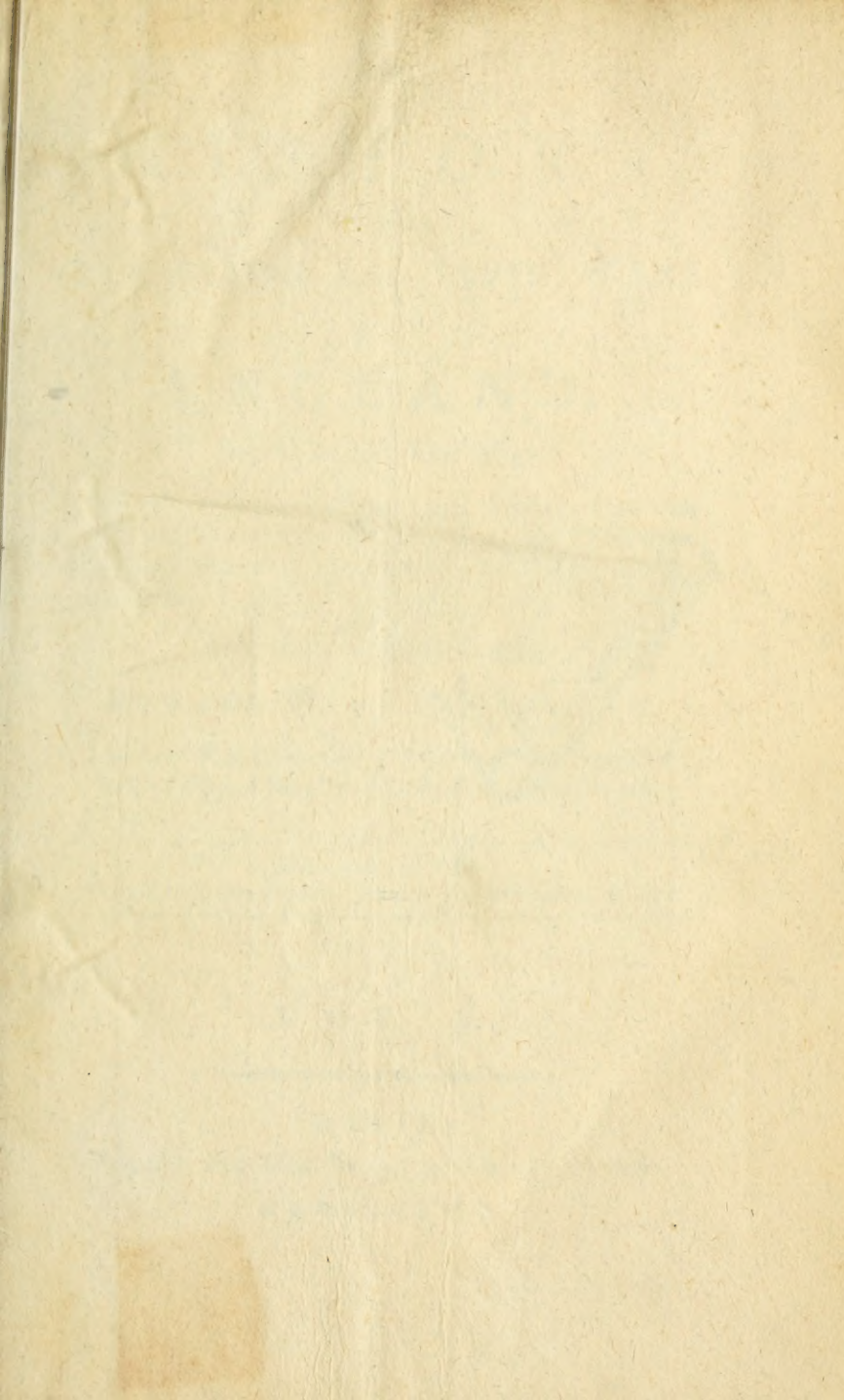
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THE LIFE OF
HENRY PELHAM
THIRD DUKE OF NEWCASTLE





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THE
HISTORY
OF THE
REBELLION AND CIVIL WARS
IN
ENGLAND,

Begun in the Year 1641.

With the precedent Passages, and Actions, that contributed thereunto, and the happy End, and Conclusion thereof by the King's blessed RESTORATION, and RETURN upon the 29th of May, in the Year 1660.

Written by the Right Honourable

EDWARD Earl of CLARENDON,

Late Lord High Chancellor of England, Privy Counsellor
in the Reigns of King CHARLES the First and the Second.

Κῆρυξ ἐς αἰῶ. Thucyd.

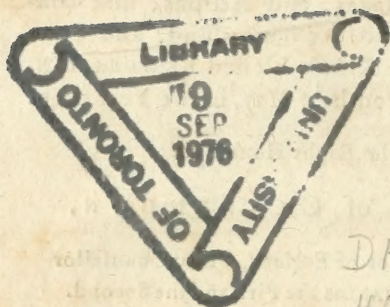
Ne quid Falsi dicere audeat, ne quid Veri non audeat. Cicero.

V O L. V.

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THE
History of the Rebellion, etc.

B O O K VI.

Isa. XVIII. 2.

*Go, ye swift Messengers, to a Nation scattered and
peeled, to a People terrible from their beginning
hitherto: a Nation meted out and trodden down,
whose Land the Rivers have spoiled.*

Isa. XIX. 13, 14.

*The Princes of Zoan are become fools.
The Lord hath mingled a perverse Spirit in the midst
thereof.*

WHEN the King set up his Standard at Nottingham, which was on the 25th of August, as is before remembered, he found the place much emptier than he thought the fame of his Standard would have suffered it to be; and received Intelligence the next day, that the Rebels Army, for such now he had declared them, was Horse, Foot, and Cannon, at Northampton; besides that Party which, in the end of the Fifth Book, we left at Coventry: whereas His few Cannon and Ammunition were still at York, being neither yet in an equipage to march, though Sir John Heydon, his Majesty's faith.

B O O K
VI.
The King's
condition at
Notting-
ham.

B O O K VI, ful Lieutenant of the Ordnance, used all possible diligence to form and prepare it; neither were there Foot enough levied to guard it: and at *Nottingham*, besides some few of the Trained-bands, which Sir *John Digby*, the active Sheriff of that County, drew into the old ruinous Castle there, there were not of Foot levied for the Service Yet three hundred Men. So that they who were not over much given to fear, finding very many places in that great River, which was looked upon as the only strength and security of the Town, to be easily fordable, and nothing towards an Army for defence but the Standard set up, begun sadly to apprehend the danger of the King's own Person. Insomuch that Sir *Jacob Ashley*, his Serjeant-Major-General of his intended Army, told him, "that he could not give any assurance against his Majesty's being taken out of his bed, " if the Rebels should make a brisk attempt to that " purpose." And it was evident, all the Strength he had to depend upon was his Horse, which were under the Command of Prince *Rupert* at *Leicester*; and were not at that time in Number above eight hundred, few better armed than with Swords, whilst the Enemy had, within less than twenty Miles of that place, double the Number of Horse excellently armed and appointed, and a Body of five thousand Foot well trained, and disciplined; so that, no doubt, if they had advanced, they might at least have dispersed those few Troops of the King's, and driven his Majesty to a greater distance, and exposed him to notable hazards and inconveniences.

Portsmouth
besieged by the

When Men were almost confounded with this

prospect, his Majesty received Intelligence, that *Portsmouth* was so straitly besieged by Sea and Land, that it would be reduced in very few days, except it were relieved. For the truth is, Colonel *Goring*, though he had sufficient warning, and sufficient supplies of Money to put that place into a posture, had relied too much upon probable and casual assistance, and neglected to do that Himself which a vigilant Officer would have done: and albeit his chief dependance was both for Money and Provisions from the Isle of *Wight*, yet he was careless to secure those small Castles and Block-houses, that guarded the passage; which revolting to the Parliament as soon as he declared for the King, cut off all those dependances; so that he had neither Men enough to do ordinary duty, nor Provisions enough for those few, for any considerable time. And at the same time with this news of *Portsmouth*, arrived certain Advertisements, that the Marquis of *Hertford*, and all his Forces in the West, from whom only the King hoped that *Portsmouth* should be relieved, was driven out of *Somersetshire*, where his power and interest was believed unquestionable, into *Dorsetshire*; and there besieged in *Sherborne-Castle*.

The Marquis, after he left the King at *Beverly*, by ordinary Journeys, and without making any long stay by the way, came to *Bath*, upon the very edge of *Somersetshire*, at the time when the General Assizes were there held; where, meeting all the considerable Gentlemen of that great County, and finding them well affected to the King's Service, except very few who were sufficiently known, he

B O O K
VI.
Parliament's
Forces.

The Marquis
of Hertford's
Actions in So-
merfetshire,
&c.

B O O K entered into consultation with them, from whom he
VI. was to expect assistance, in what place he should
most conveniently fix himself for the better disposing
the Affections of the People, and to raise a strength
for the resistance of any attempt which the Parlia-
ment might make, either against them, or to disturb
the Peace of the Country by their Ordinance of the
Militia, which was the first power they were like to
hear of. Some were of opinion, " that *Bristol* would
" be the fittest place, being a great, rich, and po-
" pulous City; of which being once possessed, they
" should be easily able to give the Law to *Somerfet*
" and *Glocestershire*; and could not receive any Af-
" front by a sudden or tumultuary Insurrection of the
" People." And if this advice had been followed,
it would, probably, have proved very prosperous.
But, on the contrary, it was objected, that it " was
" not evident, that his Lordship's reception into
" the City would be such as was expected; Mr. *Hollis*
" being Lieutenant thereof, and having exercised
" the Militia there; and there being visibly many
" disaffected people in it, and some of Eminent
" Quality; and if he should attempt to go thither
" and be disappointed, it would break the whole
" Design: Then that it was out of the County of
" *Somerfet*, and therefore that they could not Le-
" gally draw that people thither; besides, that it
" would look like fear and suspicion of their own
" power, to put themselves into a walled Town,
" as if they feared the power of the other Party
" would be able to oppress them. Whereas, except
" *Popham* and *Horner*, all the Gentlemen of Eminent

“ Quality and Fortune of *Somersetshire*, were either present with the Marquis, or presumed not to be inclined to the Parliament.” And therefore they proposed, “ that *Wells*, being a pleasant City, in the heart and near the centre of that County, might be chosen for his Lordship’s residence.” Which was accordingly agreed on, and thither the Marquis and his Train went, sending for the nearest Trained-bands to appear before him; and presuming that in little time, by the industry of the Gentlemen present, and his Lordship’s reputation, which was very great, the affections of the people would be so much wrought upon, and their understandings so well informed, that it would not be in the power of the Parliament to pervert them, or to make ill impressions on them towards his Majesty’s Service.

Whilst his Lordship in this gentle way endeavoured to compose the fears and apprehensions of the people, and by doing all things in a peaceable way, and according to the Rules of the known Laws, to convince all Men of the Justice and Integrity of his Majesty’s proceedings and Royal intentions; the other Party, according to their usual confidence and activity, wrought under-hand to persuade the people that the Marquis was come down to put the Commission of Array in execution, by which Commission a great part of the Estate of every Farmer or substantial Yeoman should be taken from them; alledging, that some Lords had said, “ that Twenty pounds by the year was enough for every Peasant to live on;” and so, taking advantage of the Commission’s being in Latin, translated in into what

BOOK

VI.

English they pleased; persuading the substantial Yeomen and Freeholders, that, at least, two parts of their Estates would, by that Commission, be taken from them; and the meaner and poorer sort of People, that they were to pay a Tax for one day's labor in the week to the King; and that All should be, upon the matter, no better than Slaves to the Lords, and that there was no way to free and preserve themselves from this insupportable Tyranny, but by adhering to the Parliament, and submitting to the Ordinance for the Militia; which was purposely prepared to enable them to resist these horrid Invasions of their Liberties.

It cannot easily be believed, how these gross Insults generally prevailed. For though the Gentlemen of Ancient Families and Estates in that County were, for the most part, well affected to the King, and easily discerned by what Faction the Parliament was governed; yet there were a People of an inferior degree, who, by good husbandry, Clothing, and other thriving Arts, had gotten very great Fortunes; and, by degrees, getting themselves into the Gentlemen's Estates, were angry that they found not themselves in the same esteem and reputation with those whose Estates they had; and therefore, with more industry than the other, studied all ways to make themselves considerable. These, from the beginning, were fast friends to the Parliament; and many of them were now intrusted by them as Deputy Lieutenants in their new Ordinance of the Militia, and having found when the People were ripe, gathered them together, with a purpose on a sudden,

before there should be any suspicion, to surround and surprize the Marquis at *Wells*. For they had always this advantage of the King's Party and his Counsels, that their Resolutions were no sooner published, than they were ready to be executed, there being an absolute implicit obedience in the inferior sort to those who were to Command them; and their private Agents, with admirable industry and secrecy, preparing all persons and things ready against a call: Whereas all the King's Counsels were, with great formality deliberated, before concluded: and then, with equal formality, and precise caution of the Law, executed; there being no other way to weigh down the prejudice, that was contracted against the Court, but by the most barefaced publishing all conclusions, and fitting them to that apparent justice and reason, that might prevail over the most ordinary understandings.

When the Marquis was thus in the midst of an Enemy that almost covered the whole Kingdom, his whole strength was a Troop of Horse, raised by Mr. *John Digby*, Son to the Earl of *Bristol*, and another by Sir *Francis Hawley* (both which were levied in those parts to attend the King in the North) and a Troop of Horse and a small Troop of Dragoons, raised and armed by Sir *Ralph Hopton* at his own charge; and about one hundred Foot gathered up by Lieutenant Colonel *Henry Lunsford* towards a Regiment, which were likewise to have marched to the King. These, with the Lord *Pawlet*, and the Gentlemen of the Country, which were about eight-and-twenty of the prime Quality there, with their Servants

BOOK VI. and Retinue, made up the Marquis's force. Then their proceedings were with that exceeding caution, that upon advertisement that the active Ministers of the contrary party had appointed a general meeting at a Town within few Miles of *Wells*, Sir *Ralph Hopton* being advised with his small Troop and some Volunteer-Gentlemen to repair thither, and to disappoint that Convention, and to take care that it might produce the least prejudice to the King's Service; before he reached the place, those Gentlemen who stayed behind (and by whose advice the Marquis thought it necessary absolutely to govern himself, that they might see all possible wariness was used in the entrance into a War, which being once entered into, he well knew must be carried on another way) sent him word, "that he should forbear any hostile Act, otherwise they would disclaim whatsoever he should do." Whereas the Courage and Resolution of those few were such, and the Cowardice of the undisciplined seditious Rabble and their Leaders was so eminent, that it was very probable, if those few Troops had been as actively employed as their Commanders desired, they might have been able to have driven the Bigots out of the Country, before they had fully possessed the rest with their own rancor: which may be reasonably presumed by what followed shortly after when Mr. *Digby*, Sir *John Stawell* and his Sons, with some Volunteer-Gentlemen, being in the whole not above fourscore Horse, and fourteen Dragoons, charged a greater Body of Horse, and above six hundred Foot of the Rebels, led by a Member of the House of Commons; and without

the loss of one Man, killed seven in the place, hurt very many, took their Chief Officers, and as many more Prisoners as they would; and so routed the whole Body, that six Men kept not together, they having all thrown down their Arms.

But this good fortune abated only the Courage of those who had run away, the others making use of this overthrow as an argument of the Marquis's bloody purposes; and therefore, in few days, Sir *John Horner* and *Alexander Popham*, being the principal Men of Quality of that Party in that County, with the assistance of their friends of *Dorset*, and *Devon*, and the City of *Bristol*, drew together a body of above twelve thousand Men, Horse and Foot, with some pieces of Cannon, with which they appeared on the top of the Hill over *Wells*; where the Marquis, in contempt of them, stayed two days, having only Barricadoed the Town; but then, finding that the few Trained-bands, which attended him there, were run away, either to their own Houses, or to their fellows, on the top of the Hill; and hearing that more Forces, or, at least, better Officers were coming from the Parliament against him, he retired in the noon day, and in the face of that Rebelious Herd from *Wells* to *Somerton*, and so to *Sherborne*, without any loss or trouble. Thither, within two days, came to his Lordship Sir *John Berkely*, Colonel *Ashburnham*, and some other good Officers, enough to have formed a considerable Army, if there had been no other want. But they had not been long there (and it was not easy to resolve whither else to go, they having no reason to believe they should be any

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VI.

He retires to
Sherborne.

BOOK

VI.

The Earl of
Bedford comes
against him.

where more welcome than in *Somersetshire*, from whence they had been now driven) when the Earl of *Bedford*, General of the Horse to the Parliament, with *Mr. Hollis*, *Sir Walter Earl*, and other *Ephori*, and a complete Body of seven thousand Foot at least, ordered by *Charles Essex*, their Serjeant-Major-General, a Soldier of good experience and reputation in the low Countries, and eight full Troops of Horse, under the Command of Captain *Pretty*, with four pieces of Cannon, in a very splendid equipage came to *Wells*, and from thence to *Sherborne*. The Marquis, by this time having increased his Foot to four hundred, with which that great Army was kept from entering that Town, and persuaded to encamp in the Field about three quarters of a Mile North from the Castle; where, for the present, we must leave the Marquis and his great-spirited little Army.

It could never be understood, why that Army did not then march directly to *Nottingham*; which if it had done, his Majesty's few Forces must immediately have been scattered, and himself fled, or put himself into their hands, which there were enough ready to have advised him to do; and if he had escaped, he might have been pursued by one Regiment of Horse till he had quitted the Kingdom. But it pleased God, that they made not the least advance toward *Nottingham*. They about the King began now to wish that he had staid at *York*, and proposed his return thither; but that was not hearkened to; and they who advised his stay there, and against the advance to *Nottingham*, were more against his return thither, as an absolute flight; but urged the ad-

vance of the Levies, and a little patience, till it might be discerned what the Enemy did intend to do. In this great anxiety, some of the Lords desired, "that his Majesty would send a Message to the Parliament, with some overture to incline them to a Treaty;" which proposition was no sooner made, but most concurred in it, and no one had the confidence to oppose it. The King himself was so offended at it, that he declared, "he would never yield to it," and broke up the Council, that it might be no longer urged. But the next day, when they met again, they renewed the same advice with more earnestness. The Earl of *Southampton*, a Person of great prudence, and of a reputation at least equal to any Man's, pressed it, "as a thing that might do good, and could do no harm:" and the King's reasons, with reference to the insolence it would raise in the Rebels, and the dishonor that would thereby reflect upon Himself, were answered, by saying "their insolence would be for the King's advantage; and when they should reject the offer of Peace, which they believed they would do, they would make themselves the more odious to the People, who would be thereby the more inclined to serve the King." So that they took it as granted, that the proposition would be rejected, and therefore it ought to be made. It was farther said, "that his Majesty was not able to make resistance; that the Forces before *Sherborne*, *Portsmouth*, and at *Northampton*, were three several Armies, the least of which would drive his Majesty out of his Dominions; that it was only in his power to chuse,

B O O K
VI.

The King
consults at
Nottingham
of sending a
Message for
Peace.

BOOK

VI.

“ whether, by making a fair offer himself, he would
 “ seem to make Peace, which could not but render
 “ him very gracious to the People, or suffer himself
 “ to be taken Prisoner (which he would not long be
 “ able to avoid) which would give his Enemies
 “ Power, Reputation, and Authority to proceed
 “ against his Majesty, and, it might be, his Poster-
 “ rity, according to their own engaged Malice.

Yet this motive made no impression in him. “ For,
 “ he said, no misfortune, or ill success that might
 “ attend his endeavour of defending himself, could
 “ expose him to more inconveniences than a Treaty
 “ at this time desired by him, where he must be
 “ understood to be willing to yield to whatsoever
 “ they would require of him; and how modest they
 “ were like to be, might be judged by their nineteen
 “ Propositions, which were tendered, when their
 “ power could not be reasonably understood to be
 “ like so much to exceed his Majesty’s, as at this
 “ time it was evident it did; and that, having now
 “ nothing to lose but his honor, he could be only
 “ excusable to the world, by using his industry to
 “ the last to oppose the Torrent, which if it pre-
 “ vailed would overwhelm him.” This composed
 Courage and Magnanimity of his Majesty seemed
 too Philosophical, and abstracted from the Policy
 of self-preservation, to which most others were pas-
 sionately addicted: and that which was the King’s
 greatest disadvantage, how many soever were of his
 mind (as some few, and but few there were) no Man
 durst publicly avow that he was so; a Treaty for
 Peace being so popular a thing, that whosoever

opposed it would be sure to be, by general consent, a declared Enemy to his Country. BOOK VI.

That which prevailed with his Majesty very reasonably then to yield (and indeed it proved equally advantageous to him afterwards) was, "that it was most probable (and his whole fortune was to be submitted at best to probabilities) "that, out of their "pride, and contempt of the King's weakness and "want of power, the Parliament would refuse to "treat; which would be so unpopular a thing, that, "as his Majesty would highly oblige his People by "making the offer, so They would lose the hearts "of them by rejecting it; which alone would raise "an Army for his Majesty. That if they should embrace it, the King could not but be a gainer; for "by the Propositions which they should make to "him, he would be able to state the Quarrel so "clearly, that it should be more demonstrable to the "Kingdom, than yet it was, that the War was, on "his Majesty's part, purely defensive; since he "never had, and now would not deny any thing, "which they could in reason, or justice ask: That "this very overture would necessarily produce "some pause, and delay in their preparations, or "motions of their Armies; for some debate it must "needs have; and during that time, men's minds "would be in suspense; whereas his Majesty should "be so far from slackening his preparations, that he "might be more vigorous in them, by hastening "those Levies, for which his Commissions were out." For these reasons, and almost the concurrent desire, and importunity of his Council, the King was

B O O K prevailed with to fend the Earls of *Southampton*, and
VI. *Dorset*, Sir *John Colepepper*, Chancellor of his Ex-
 chequer, and Sir *William Udall* (whom his Majesty
 gave leave under that pretence to intend the business
 of his own fortune) to the two Houses with this
 Message, which was sent the third day after his
 Standard was set up.

The King
 sends to the
 two Houses a
 Message for
 Peace by the
 Earl of South-
 ampton, &c.

“ We have, with unspeakable grief of heart, long
 “ beheld the distractions of this our Kingdom. Our
 “ very Soul is full of Anguish, until We may find
 “ some remedy to prevent the miseries, which are
 “ ready to overwhelm this whole Nation by a Civil
 “ War. And though all our Endeavours, tending
 “ to the composing of those unhappy differences
 “ betwixt Us and our two Houses of Parliament
 “ (though pursued by Us with all Zeal and sincerity)
 “ have been hitherto without that success We hoped
 “ for; yet such is our constant and earnest care to
 “ preserve the public Peace, that We shall not be
 “ discouraged from using any expedient, which, by
 “ the blessing of the God of Mercy, may lay a firm
 “ foundation of Peace and Happiness to all our good
 “ Subjects. To this end, observing that many mis-
 “ takes have arisen by the Messages, Petitions, and
 “ Answers, betwixt Us and our two Houses of Par-
 “ liament, which happily may be prevented by
 “ some other way of Treaty, wherein the matters
 “ in difference may be more clearly understood, and
 “ more freely transacted; We have thought fit to
 “ propound to you, that some fit Persons may be
 “ by You enabled to treat with the like Number to be
 “ Authorized by Us, in such a manner, and with

“ such freedom of debate, as may best tend to that
“ happy conclusion which all good Men desire,
“ the Peace of the Kingdom. Wherein, as We pro-
“ mise, in the word of a King, all safety and en-
“ couragement to such as shall be sent unto Us, if
“ You shall chuse the place where We are, for the
“ Treaty, which We wholly leave to You, pre-
“ suming the like care of the safety of those We shall
“ Employ, if You shall name another place; so We
“ assure You, and all our good Subjects, that, to
“ the best of our understanding, nothing shall be
“ therein wanting on our part, which may advance
“ the true Protestant Religion, oppose Popery and
“ Superstition, secure the Law of the Land (upon
“ which is built as well our just Prerogative, as the
“ Propriety and Liberty of the Subject) confirm all
“ just Power and Privileges of Parliament, and ren-
“ der Us and our People truly happy by a good
“ understanding betwixt Us and our two Houses of
“ Parliament. Bring with you as firm Resolutions
“ to do your Duty; and let all our good People
“ join with us in our Prayers to Almighty God, for
“ his blessing upon this work. If this Proposition
“ shall be rejected by you, We have done our duty
“ so amply, that God will absolve Us from the Guilt
“ of any of that blood which must be spilt; and what
“ opinion soever other Men may have of our Power,
“ We assure you nothing but our Christian and
“ Pious care to prevent the effusion of blood, hath
“ begot this motion; Our Provision of Men, Arms,
“ and Money, being such as may secure Us from
“ farther Violence, till it pleases God to open the
“ Eyes of Our People.”

B O O K

VI.

B O O K

VI.

How it was
received by
them.

This Message had the same reception his Majesty believed it would have; and was indeed received with unheard of Insolence and Contempt. For the Earl of *Southampton*, and Sir *John Colepepper*, desiring to appear themselves before any notice should arrive of their coming, made such haste, that they were at *Westminster* in the morning shortly after the Houses met. The Earl of *Southampton* went into the House of Peers, where he was scarce sat down in his place, when, with great passion, he was called upon to withdraw; albeit he told them he had a Message to them from the King, and there could be no exception to his Lordship's sitting in the House upon their own grounds; he having had leave from the House to attend his Majesty. However he was compelled to withdraw; and then they sent the Gentleman Usher of the House to him, to require his Message; which his Lordship said, he was by the King's Command to deliver himself, and refused therefore to send it, except the Lords made an Order that he should not deliver it himself; which they did; and thereupon he sent it to them; which they no sooner received, than they sent him word, "that he should, at his Peril, immediately depart the Town, and that they would take care that their Answer to the Message should be sent to him." And so the Earl of *Southampton* departed the Town, reposing himself at the House of a Noble Person seven or eight miles off. Whilst the Earl had this skirmish with the Lords, Sir *John Colepepper* attended the Commons, forbearing to go into the House without leave, because there had been an Order (which is mentioned

mentioned before) that all the Members, who were not present at such a day, should not presume to sit there, till they had paid a hundred pounds, and given the House satisfaction in the cause of their absence. But he sent word to the Speaker, "that he had a Message from the King to them, and that he desired to deliver it in his place in the House." After some debate (for there remained yet some, who thought it as unreasonable as irregular to deny a Member of the House, against whom there had not been the least public objection, and a Privy Counsellor who had been in all times used there with great respect, leave to deliver a Message from the King in his own place as a Member) it was absolutely resolved, "that he should not sit in the House, but that he should deliver his Message at the Bar, and immediately withdraw;" which he did accordingly.

Then the two Houses met at a Conference and read the King's Message with great superciliousness; and within two days, with less difficulty and opposition than can be believed, agreed upon their Answer. The King's Messengers, in the mean time, though of that Quality, did not receive ordinary civilities from any Members of either House; they who were very willing to have done it, not daring for their own safety to come near them; and the others, looking upon them, as Servants to a Master whom they had, and meant farther to oppress. Private Conferences they had with some of the principal Governors; from whom they received no other advice, but that, if the King had any care of Himself or

B O O K his Posterity. he should immediately come to *London*, throw himself into the Arms of his Parliament, and comply with whatsoever they proposed. The Answer which they returned to the King was this.

VI.

Their Answer. *The Answer of the Lords and Commons to his Majesty's Message of the 25th of August 1642.*

“ May it please your Majesty :

“ The Lords and Commons, in Parliament assembled, having received your Majesty's Message of the 25th of *August*, do with much grief resent the dangerous and distracted State of this Kingdom; which We have by all means endeavoured to prevent, both by Our several Advices and Petitions to your Majesty; which hath been not only without success, but there hath followed that which no ill Counsel in former times hath produced, or any Age hath seen, namely those several Proclamations and Declarations against both the Houses of Parliament, whereby their Actions are declared Treasonable, and their Persons Traitors. And thereupon your Majesty hath set up your Standard against them, whereby you have put the two Houses of Parliament, and, in Them, this whole Kingdom, out of your Protection; so that until your Majesty shall recal those Proclamations and Declarations, whereby the Earl of *Essex*, and both Houses of Parliament, and their Adherents, and Assistants, and such as have obeyed and executed their Commands and Directions, according to their duties, are declared Traytors or otherwise Delinquents: and until the Standard, set up in pursuance of the said Procla-

“ mation, be taken down, your Majesty hath put
 “ us into such a condition, that whilst we so remain
 “ we cannot, by the fundamental Privileges of
 “ Parliament, the public trust reposed in us, or
 “ with the general good and safety of this King-
 “ dom; give your Majesty any other Answer to
 “ this Message.”

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When the King's Messengers returned with this Answer to *Nottingham*, all Men saw to what they must trust; and the King believed, he should be no farther moved to make Addresses to them. And yet all hopes of an Army, or any ability to resist that violence seemed so desperate, that he was privately advised by some, whom he trusted as much as any, and those whose affections were as entire to him as any Men's, to give all other thoughts over, and instantly to make all imaginable haste to *London*, and to appear in the Parliament-House before they had any expectation of him. And they conceived there would be more likelihood for him to prevail that way, than by any Army he was like to raise. And it must be solely imputed to his Majesty's own resolution, that he took not that course. However he was contented to make so much farther use of their pride and passion, as to give them occasion, by another Message, to publish more of it to the People; and therefore, within three days after the return of his Messengers, he sent the Lord *Falkland*, his Principal Secretary of State, with a reply to their Answer in these words,

“ We will not repeat, what means We have used
 “ to prevent the dangerous and distracted Estate of

The King
 sends another
 Message to

B O O K

VI.

the two
Houses.

“ the Kingdom, nor how those means have been
 “ interpreted; because, being desirous to avoid the
 “ effusion of blood, We are willing to decline all
 “ memory of former bitterness, that might render
 “ our offer of a Treaty less readily accepted. We
 “ never did declare, nor ever intended to declare,
 “ both our Houses of Parliament Traitors, or set
 “ up our Standard against them; and much less to
 “ put them and this Kingdom out of our Protection.
 “ We utterly profess against it before God, and the
 “ world; and farther to remove all possible Scruples,
 “ which may hinder the Treaty so much desired by
 “ us, We hereby promise, so that a day be appointed
 “ by you for the revoking of your Declarations
 “ against all Persons as Traytors, or otherwise,
 “ for assisting us; We shall with all cheerfulness,
 “ upon the same day recal Our Proclamations and
 “ Declarations, and take down our Standard. In
 “ which Treaty, We shall be ready to grant any
 “ thing, that shall be really for the good of our Sub-
 “ jects: conjuring you to consider the bleeding con-
 “ dition of *Ireland*, and the dangerous condition
 “ of *England*, in as high a degree, as by these Our
 “ Offers We have declared Ourselves to do. And
 “ assuring you, that our chief desire in this world,
 “ is to beget a good understanding, and mutual
 “ confidence betwixt Us and Our two Houses of
 “ Parliament.”

This Message had no better effect, or reception
 than the former; their principal Officers being sent
 down since the last Message to *Northampton* to put
 the Army into a readiness to march. And now they

required the Earl of *Essex* himself to make haste thither, that no more time might be lost, sending by the Lord *Falkland*, within two days, this Answer to the King. B O O K
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To the King's most Excellent Majesty;
The humble Answer and Petition of the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament, unto the King's last Message. Their Answer.

" May it please your Majesty :

" If We, the Lords and Commons in Parliament
" assembled, should repeat all the ways We have
" taken, the endeavours We have used, and the
" expressions We have made unto your Majesty,
" to prevent those distractions, and dangers, your
" Majesty speaks of, We should too much enlarge
" this reply. Therefore, as We humbly, so shall
" We Only let your Majesty know, that We cannot
" recede from our former Answer, for the reasons
" therein expressed. For that your Majesty hath
" not taken down your Standard, recalled your
" Proclamations and Declarations, whereby you
" have declared the Actions of both Houses of Parliament
" to be Treasonable, and their Persons Traytors;
" and you have published the same since your
" Message of the 25th of *August*, by your late Instructions
" sent to your Commissioners of Array;
" which Standard being taken down, and the Declarations,
" Proclamations, and Instructions recalled,
" if your Majesty shall then, upon this our humble
" Petition, leaving your Forces, return unto your
" Parliament, and receive their faithful advice,
" your Majesty will find such expressions of our

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“ fidelities , and duties, as shall assure you, that your
 “ safety, honor, and greatness, can only be found
 “ in the affections of your People , and the sincere
 “ counsels of your Parliament ; whose constant and
 “ undiscouraged endeavours and consultations have
 “ passed through difficulties unheard of, only to se-
 “ cure your Kingdoms from the violent mischiefs
 “ and dangers now ready to fall upon them, and
 “ every part of them ; who deserve better of your
 “ Majesty , and can never allow themselves (repre-
 “ senting likewise your whole Kingdom) to be ba-
 “ lanced with those Persons, whose desperate dispo-
 “ sitions and Counsels prevail still to interrupt all
 “ Our Endeavours for the relieving of bleeding
 “ *Ireland* ; as we may fear Our Labors, and vast
 “ expenses will be fruitless to that distressed King-
 “ dom. As your presence is thus humbly desired by
 “ us , so it is in our hopes your Majesty will in your
 “ reason believe , there is no other way than this,
 “ to make your Majesty’s self happy, and your
 “ Kingdom safe.”

And lest this Overture of a Treaty might be a means to allay and compose the distempers of the People , and that the hope and expectation of Peace might not dishearten their Party , in their preparations and contributions to the War, the same day they sent their last Answer to the King, they published this Declaration to the Kingdom.

The two
 Houses De-
 clARATION to
 the King-
 dom.

“ Whereas his Majesty , in a Message received
 “ the 5th of *September* , requires that the Parliament
 “ would revoke their Declarations against such Per-
 “ sons, as have assisted his Majesty in this unna-

“ tural War against his Kingdom ; it is this day or-
 “ dered, and declared by the Lords and Commons,
 “ that the Arms, which they have been forced to
 “ take up, and shall be forced to take up, for the
 “ preservation of the Parliament, Religion, the
 “ Laws and Liberties of the Kingdom, shall not be
 “ laid down, until his Majesty shall withdraw his
 “ Protection from such Persons as have been voted
 “ by both Houses to be Delinquents, or that shall
 “ by both Houses be voted to be Delinquents, and
 “ shall leave them to the justice of the Parliament to
 “ be proceeded with according to their demerit ; to
 “ the end that both this and succeeding Generations
 “ may take warning, with what danger they incur
 “ the like heinous crimes : and also to the end that
 “ those great charges and damages, wherewith all
 “ the Common-wealth hath been burdened in the
 “ premises, since his Majesty’s departure from the
 “ Parliament, may be borne by the Delinquents,
 “ and other Malignant and Disaffected Persons : and
 “ that all his Majesty’s good and well affected Sub-
 “ jects, who by Loan of Monies, or otherwise at
 “ their charge, have assisted the Common-wealth,
 “ or shall inlike manner hereafter assist the Common-
 “ wealth in time of extreme danger, may be repay-
 “ ed all Sums of Money lent by them for those pur-
 “ poses, and be satisfied their charges so sustained,
 “ out of the Estates of the said Delinquents, and
 “ of the Malignant and Disaffected Party in this
 “ Kingdom.”

This Declaration did the King no harm ; for be-
 sides that it was evident to all Men, that the King

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had done whatsoever was in his power, or could be expected from him, for the prevention of a Civil War, all Persons of Honor and Quality plainly discerned, that they had no safety but in the preservation of the Regal power, since their Estates were already disposed of by them who could declare whom they would Delinquents, and would infallibly declare all such who had not concurred with them. And the advantage the King received by those overtures, and the pride, forwardness, and perverseness of the Rebels, is not imaginable; his Levies of Men, and all other preparations for the War, being incredibly advanced from the time of his first Message. Prince *Rupert* lay still with the Horse at *Leicester*; and though He, and some of the principal Officers with him, were discontented to that degree, upon the King's first Message and desire of a Treaty, as likely not only to destroy all hopes of raising an Army, but to sacrifice those who were raised, that they were not without some thoughts, at least discourses, of offering violence to the principal Advisers of it, he now found his Numbers increased, and better resolved by it; and from *Yorkshire*, *Lincolnshire*, and *Straffordshire*, came very good recruits of Foot; so that his Cannon and Munition being likewise come up from *York*, within twenty days his Numbers began to look towards an Army; and there was another Air in all Men's faces; yet *Nottingham* seemed not a good Post for his Majesty to stay longer at; and therefore, about the middle of *September*, the Earl of *Essex* being then with his whole Army at *Northampton*, his Majesty marched

from *Nottingham* to *Derby*; being not then resolved whether to bend his course to *Shrewsbury* or *Chester*, not well knowing the temper of those Towns, in both which the Parliament-Party had been very active; but resolving to sit down near the borders of *Wales*, where the power of the Parliament had been least prevalent, and where some Regiments of Foot were Levying for his Service. Before his leaving *Nottingham*, as a farewell to his hopes of a Treaty, and to make the deeper sense and impression, in the hearts of the People, of those who had so pertinaciously rejected it, his Majesty sent this Message to the Houses.

“ Who have taken most ways, used most endeavours, and made most real expressions to prevent the present distractions and dangers; let all the world judge, as well by former passages, as by Our two last Messages, which have been so fruitless, that, though We have descended to desire and press it, not so much as a Treaty can be obtained; unless We would denude ourself of all force to defend us from a visible strength marching against us; and admit those Persons as Traytors to us, who, according to their Duty, their Oaths of Allegiance, and the Law, have appeared in defence of Us, their King and Liege Lord (whom We are bound in conscience and honor to preserve) though We disclaimed all our Proclamations, and Declarations, and the erecting of our Standard, as against our Parliament. All we have now left in Our power, is to express the deep sense We have of the public misery of

Another
Message from
the King to
the two
Houses in
Reply to their
Answer.

BOOK VI. " this Kingdom, in which is involved that of our
 " distressed Protestants of *Ireland*; and to apply our-
 " self to our necessary defence, wherein We whole-
 " ly rely upon the providence of God, the Justice
 " of our Cause, and the Affection of our good
 " People; so far We are from putting them out of
 " our Protection. When you shall desire a Treaty
 " of us, We shall piously remember, whose blood
 " is to be spilt in this quarrel, and cheerfully em-
 " brace it. And as no other reason induced Us to
 " leave our City of *London*, but that, with honor
 " and safety We could not stay there; nor to raise
 " any force, but for the necessary defence of our
 " Person and the Law, against Levies in opposition
 " to both; so We shall suddenly and most willing-
 " ly return to the One, and disband the Other,
 " as soon as those causes shall be removed. The
 " God of Heaven direct you, and in mercy divert
 " those judgments, which hang over this Nation;
 " and so deal with Us, and our Posterity, as We
 " desire the preservation, and advancement of the
 " true Protestant Religion; the Law, and the Li-
 " berty of the Subject; the just Rights of Parliament,
 " and the Peace of the Kingdom.

When the King came to *Derby*, he received clear
 information from the well affected Party in *Shrews-
 bury*, that the Town was at His devotion; and that
 the very rumor of his Majesty's purpose of coming
 thither, had driven away all those who were most
 inclined to sedition. And therefore, as well in regard
 of the strong and pleasant situation of it (one side
 being defended by the *Severn*, the other having a

The King
 removes to
Derby.

secure passage into *Wales*, the confines of *Montgomeryshire* extending very near the Town) as for the correspondence with *Worcester*, of which City he hoped well, and that by his being at *Shrewsbury*, he should be as well able to secure *Chester*, as by carrying his whole Train so far North; besides that the other might give some apprehension of his going into *Ireland*, which had been formerly mentioned, his Majesty resolved for that Town; and, after one day's stay at *Derby* by easy marches he went thither, drawing his whole small Forces to Rendezvous at *Wellington*, a day's march short of *Shrewsbury*; and that being the first time that they were together, his Majesty then caused his Military Orders for the Discipline and Government of the Army to be read at the head of each Regiment; and then, which is not fit ever to be forgotten, putting himself in the middle, where he might be best heard, not much unlike the Emperor *Trajan*, who, when he made *Sura* Great Marshal of the *Empire*, gave him a Sword, saying, "Receive this Sword of me, and if I command as I ought, employ it in my defence; if I do otherwise, draw it against me, and take my life from me," his Majesty made this Speech to his Soldiers.

"Gentlemen, you have heard those Orders read: it is Your part, in your several places, to observe them exactly; the time cannot be long before We come to Action, therefore you have the more reason to be careful; and I must tell you, I shall be very severe in the punishing of those, of what condition soever, who transgress these Instruc-

The King's Speech and Protestation at the head of his Forces, after the reading his Orders of War.

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tions. I cannot suspect your Courage and Resolution; your Conscience and your Loyalty hath brought you hither, to Fight for your Religion, your King, and the Laws of the Land. You shall meet with no Enemies but Traytors, most of them *Brownists*, *Anabaptists*, and *Atheists*; such who desire to destroy both Church and State, and who have already condemned You to ruin for being Loyal to Us. That you may see what use I mean to make of your Valor, if it please God to bless it with success, I have thought fit to publish my Resolution to you in a Protestation; which when you have heard me make, you will believe you cannot fight in a better Quarrel, in which I promise to live and die with you."

The Protestation his Majesty was then pleased to make was in these words.

"I do promise in the presence of Almighty God, and as I hope for his blessing and protection, that I will, to the utmost of my power, defend and maintain the true Reformed Protestant Religion, established in the Church of *England*; and, by the grace of God, in the same will live and die.

"I desire to govern by all the known Laws of the Land, and that the Liberty, and Property of the Subject, may be by them preserved with the same care, as my own just Rights. And if it please God, by his blessing upon this Army, raised for my necessary defence, to preserve me from this Rebellion, I do solemnly and faithfully promise, in the sight of God, to maintain the just Privileges and Freedom of Parliament, and to govern by the

“ known Laws of the Land to my utmost power ; BOOK
 “ and particularly , to observe inviolably the Laws VI.
 “ consented to by me this Parliament. In the mean
 “ while, if this time of War, and the great necessity,
 “ and straits I am now driven to, beget any viola-
 “ tion of those , I hope it shall be imputed by God
 “ and Men to the Authors of this War, and not to
 “ Me, who have so earnestly labored for the prefer-
 “ vation of the Peace of this Kingdom.

“ When I willingly fail in these particulars , I will
 “ expect no aid or relief from any Man, or Pro-
 “ tection from Heaven. But in this resolution, I hope
 “ for the cheerful assistance of all good Men , and
 “ am confident of God's blessing.”

This Protestation, and the manner and solemnity
 of making it , gave not more life and encourage-
 ment to the little Army , than it did comfort and
 satisfaction to the Gentry and Inhabitants of those
 parts ; into whom the Parliament had infused , that,
 if his Majesty prevailed by force , he would , with
 the same power , abolish all those good Laws,
 which had been made this Parliament ; so that they
 looked upon this Protestation , as a more ample se-
 curity for their enjoying the benefit of those Acts,
 than the Royal Assent he had before given. And a
 more general, and passionate expression of affections
 cannot be imagined, than he received by the
 People of those Counties of *Derby*, *Strafford*, and
Shropshire , as he passed ; or a better reception, than
 he found at *Shrewsbury* ; into which Town he en-
 tered on *Tuesday* the 20th of *September*.

The King
comes to
Shrewsbury.

It will be, and was then , wondered at, that since

BOOK VI. the Parliament had a full and well formed Army, before the King had one full Regiment, and the Earl of *Essex* was Himself come to *Northampton*, some days before his Majesty went from *Nottingham*, his Lordship neither disquieted the King whilst he stayed there, nor gave him any disturbance in his march to *Shrewsbury*; which if he had done, he might either have taken him Prisoner, or so dispersed his small power, that it would never have been possible for him to have gotten an Army together. But as the Earl had not yet received his Instructions, so they, upon whom he depended, avoided that expedition out of mere pride, and contempt of the King's Forces; and upon a presumption, that it would not be possible for him to raise such a power, as would be able to look Their Army in the face; but that, when he had in vain tried all other ways, and those, who not only followed him upon their own charges, but supported those who were not able to bear their own (for his Army was maintained and paid by the Nobility and Gentry; who served likewise in their own Persons) were grown weary and unable longer to bear that burden, his Majesty would be forced to put himself into Their Arms for Protection and Subsistence; and such a Victory without blood had crowned all their designs. And if their Army, which they pretended to raise only for their defence, and for the safety of the King's Person, had been able to prevent the King's raising any, or if the King, in that Melancholic conjuncture at *Nottingham*, had returned to *White-Hall*, he had justified all their proceedings, and could

never after have refused to yield to whatsoever they proposed. BOOK
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And it is most certain, that the Common Soldiers of their Army were generally persuaded, that they should never be brought to fight, but that the King was in truth little better than imprisoned by evil Counsellors, Malignants, Delinquents, and Cavaliers (the terms applied to his whole Party) and would gladly come to his Parliament if he could break from that company; which he would undoubtedly do, if their Army came once to such a distance, that his Majesty might make an escape to them. In this kind of discourse they were so sottish, that they were persuaded, that those Persons of whose Piety, Honor, and Integrity, they had received heretofore the greatest Testimony, were Now turned Papists; and that the small Army, and Forces the King had, consisted of no other than Papists. Insomuch as truly those of the King's Party, who promised themselves any support, but from the comfort of their own consciences, or relied upon any other means than from God Almighty, could hardly have made their expectations appear reasonable; for his Enemies were in a manner possessed of the whole Kingdom.

Portsmouth, the strongest and best fortified Town then in the Kingdom, was surrendered to them; Col. Goring
surrenders
Portsmouth. Colonel *Goring*, about the beginning of *September*, though he had seemed to be so long resolved, and prepared to expect a Siege, and had been supplied with Moneys according to his own proposal, was brought so low, that he gave it up, only for liberty

B O O K to transport Himself beyond Seas and for his Officers
VI. to repair to the King. And it were to be wished that there might be no more occasion to mention him hereafter, after this repeated treachery; and that his incomparable dexterity and sagacity had not prevailed so far over those, who had been so often deceived by him, as to make it absolutely necessary to speak at large of him, more than once, before this discourse comes to an end.

The Marquis
 of Hertford's
 proceedings in
 the West.

The Marquis of *Hertford*, though he had so much discredited the Earl of *Bedford*'s Soldiery, and disheartened his great Army, that the Earl (after lying in the Field four or five Nights within less than Cannon-shot of the Castle, and Town, and after having refused to fight a duel with the Marquis, to which he provoked him by a Challenge) sent Sir *John Norcot*, under pretence of a Treaty and the Godly care to avoid the effusion of Christian blood, in plain *English* to desire "that he might fairly and peaceably draw off his Forces, and march away;" the which, how reasonable a request soever it was, the Marquis refused; sending them word, "that as they came thither upon their own Counsels, so they should get off as they could:" and at last they did draw off, and march above a dozen miles for repose; leaving the Marquis, for some weeks, undisturbed at *Sherborne*: yet when he heard of the loss of *Portsmouth*, the relief whereof was his principal business, and so that those Forces would probably be added to the Earl of *Bedford*, and by their success give much courage to his bashful Army, and that a good Regiment of Horse, which he expected (for Sir *John Byron* had

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had sent him word from *Oxford*, that he would march towards him) was retired to the King; and that the Committees were now so busy in the several Counties, that the People, in all places, declared for the Parliament; and more particularly some strong and populous Towns in *Somersetshire*; as *Taunton*, *Wellington*, and *Dunster-Castle*; by reason whereof it would not be possible for him to increase his strength, he resolved to leave *Sherborne*, where his stay could no way advance the King's Service; and to try all ways to get to his Majesty. But when he came to *Minhead*, a Port-Town, from whence he made no doubt he should be able to transport Himself, and his company into *Wales*, he found the People both of the Town and County so disaffected, that all the boats of which there used always to be great store by reason of the trade for Cattle and Corn with *Wales*, were industriously sent away, save only two; so that the Earl of *Bedford* having taken new heart, and being within four miles with his Army, his Lordship, with his small Cannon and few Foot, with the Lord *Pawlet*, Lord *Seymour*, and some Gentlemen of *Somersetshire*, transported himself into *Glamorganshire*; leaving Sir *Ralph Hopton*, Sir *John Berkeley*, Mr. *Digby*, and some other Officers with their Horse (consisting of about one hundred and twenty) to march into *Cornwall*. in hopes to find that Country better prepared for their reception.

On the other hand, the Earl of *Bedford*, thinking those few fugitives not worth his farther care, and that they would be easily apprehended by the Committee of the Militia, which was very powerful in

B O O K VI. *Devon, and Cornwall*, contented himself with having driven away the Marquis, and so expelled all hope of raising an Army for the King in the West; and retired with his Forces to the Earl of *Essex*, as Sir *William Waller* had done from *Portsmouth*; so that as it was not expected, that the Forces about his Majesty could be able to defend him against so puissant an Army, so it was not imaginable that he could receive any addition of strength from any other parts. For wherever they found any Person of Quality inclined to the King, or but disinclined to Them, they immediately seized upon his Person, and sent him in great Triumph to the Parliament; who committed him to Prison, with all circumstances of cruelty and intumescency.

Thus they took Prisoner the Lord *Mountague* of *Boughton* at his House in *Northamptonshire*, a Person of great reverence, being above fourscore years of age, and of unblemished Reputation, for declaring himself not satisfied with their disobedient and undutiful proceedings against the King, and more expressly against their Ordinance for the Militia; and notwithstanding that he had a Brother of the House of Peers, the Lord Privy-Seal, and a Nephew the Lord *Ambolton*, who had as full a power in that Council as any Man, and a Son in the House of Commons very unlike his Father; his Lordship was committed to the Tower a close Prisoner; and though he was afterwards remitted to more Air, he continued a Prisoner to his death.

Thus they took Prisoner in *Oxfordshire* the Earl of *Berkshire*, and three or four principal Gentlemen

of that County ; and committed them to the Tower, for no other reason but wishing well to the King ; for they never appeared in the least Action in his Service. And thus they took Prisoner the Earl of *Bath* in *Devonshire* , who neither had , or ever meant to do the King the least service ; but only out of the morosity of his own Nature , had before , in the House , expressed himself not of their minds ; and carried him with many other Gentlemen of *Devon* and *Somerset* , with a strong Guard of Horse , to *London* ; where , after they had been exposed to the rudeness and reproach of the Common People , who called them Traytors and Rebels to the Parliament , and pursued them with such usage as they use to the most infamous Malefactors , they were , without ever being examined , or charged with any particular crime , committed to several Prisons ; so that not only all the Prisons about *London* were quickly filled with Persons of Honor , and great Reputation for sobriety and integrity to their Counties , but new Prisons were made for their reception ; and , which was a new and barbarous invention , very many Persons of very good Quality , both of the Clergy and Laity , were committed to Prison on board the Ships in the River of *Thames* ; where they were kept under Decks , and no friend suffered to come to them , by which many lost their lives. And that the loss of their Liberty might not be all their punishment , it was the usual course , and very few escaped it , after any Man was committed as a notorious Malignant (which was the brand) that his Estate and Goods were seized , or plundered by an Order from the House of Com-

BOOK VI. mons, or some Committee, or the Soldiers, who in their march took the Goods of all Papists and eminent Malignants, as lawful prize; or by the fury and Licence of the Common People, who were in all places grown to that barbarity and rage against the Nobility and Gentry (under the Style of Cavaliers) that it was not safe for any to live at their Houses, who were taken notice of as no Votaries to the Parliament.

So the Common People (no doubt by the advice of their Superiors) in *Essex* on a sudden beset the House of Sir *John Lucas*, one of the best Gentlemen of that County, and of the most eminent affection to the King, being a Gentleman of the Privy Chamber to the Prince of *Wales*; and upon pretence that he was going to the King, possessed themselves of all his Horſes and Arms, seized upon his Person, and used him with all possible indignities, not without some threats to murder him; and when the Mayor of *Colchester*, whither he was brought, with more humanity than the rest, offered to keep him Prisoner in his own House, till the pleasure of the Parliament should be farther known, they compelled him, or he was willing to be compelled, to send him to the Common Goal; where he remained, glad of that security, till the House of Commons removed him to another Prison (without ever charging him with any crime) having sent all his Horſes to the Earl of *Essex*, to be used in the service of that Army.

At the same time the same Rabble entered the House of the Countess of *Rivers* near *Colchester*; for no other ground, than that she was a Papist; and in

few hours disfurnished it of all the Goods, which had been many years with great curiosity providing, and were not of less value than forty thousand pounds sterling; the Countess herself hardly escaping, after great insolence had been used to her Person: And she could never receive any reparation from the Parliament. These and many other Instances of the same kind in *London* and the parts adjacent gave sufficient evidence to all Men how little else They were to keep, who meant to preserve their Allegiance and Integrity in the full Vigor.

I must not forget, though it cannot be remembered without much horror, that this strange Wild-fire among the people, was not so much and so furiously kindled by the breath of the Parliament, as of their Clergy, who both administered fuel, and blowed the Coals in the Houses too. These Men having crept into, and at last driven all Learned and Orthodox Men from the Pulpits, had, as is before remembered, from the beginning of this Parliament, under the Notion of Reformation and extirpating of Popery, infused seditious inclinations into the hearts of Men against the present Government of the Church with many libellous invectives against the State too. But since the raising of an Army, and rejecting the King's last overture of a Treaty, they contained themselves within no bounds; and as freely and without control, inveighed against the Person of the King, as they had before against the worst Malignant, prophanely, and blasphemously applying whatsoever had been spoken and declared by God Himself, or the Prophets, against the most wicked and impious

B O O K Kings to incense and stir up the People against their
VI. most Gracious Sovereign.

There are Monuments enough in the seditious Sermons at that time printed, and in the Memories of Men, of others not printed, of such wresting, and perverting of Scripture to the odious purposes of the Preacher, that pious Men will not look over without trembling. One takes his Text out of *Moses's* words in the 32^d Chap of *Exodus* and the 26^h Verse. *Consecrate yourselves to day to the Lord, even every Man upon his Son, and upon his Brother, that he may bestow upon you a blessing this day:* And from thence incites his Auditory to the utmost prosecution of those, under what relation soever of Blood. Neighbourhood, Dependance, who concurred not in the Reformation proposed by the Parliament. Another makes as bold with *David's* words, in the 1^h *Chron* 22^d Chap. 16th Verse. *Arise therefore and be doing:* And from thence assures, it was not enough to with well to the Parliament; if they brought not their purse, as well as their prayers, and their hands, as well as their hearts to the assistance of it, the duty in the Text was not performed. There were more than Mr. *Marshall*, who from the 23^d Verse of the 5^h Chap. of *Judges*. *Curse ye Meroz said the Angel of the Lord, curse ye bitterly the Inhabitants thereof, because they came not to the help of the Lord, to the help of the Lord against the mighty*, presumed to inveigh against, and in plain terms to pronounce God's own curse against all those, who came not, with their utmost power and strength, to destroy and root out all the Malignants, who in any degree opposed the Parliament.

There was one, who from the 48th Chap of the Prophet *Jeremiah* and the 10th Verse. *Cursed be he that keepeth back his sword from blood*; reproved those who gave any quarter to the King's Soldiers. And another out of the 5th Verse of the 25th Chap of *Proverbs*. *Take away the wicked from before the King, and his Throne shall be established in righteousness*; made it no less a case of Conscience by force to remove the evil Counsellors from the King (with bold intimation what might be done to the King Himself, if he would not suffer them to be removed) than to perform any Christian duty that is enjoined. It would fill a Volume to insert all the impious madness of this kind, so that the complaint of the Prophet *Ezekiel*, might most truly, and seasonably have been applied, *There is a conspiracy of her Prophets in the midst thereof, like a roaring Lion ravening the Prey, they have devoured Souls, they have taken the Treasure, and precious things, they have made her many Widows in the midst thereof*. B O O K
VI.
Ezek. xxi.
v. 25.

It was the complaint of *Erasmus* of the Clergy in his time, that when Princes were inclinable to Wars, *alius é sacro suggesto promittit omnium admissorum condonationem, alius promittit certam victoriam. Prophetarum voces ad rem impiam detorquens. Tam bellaces conciones audivimus*, says he. And indeed no good Christian can, without horror, think of those Ministers of the Church, who by their Function being Messengers of Peace, were the only Trumpets of War, and Incendiaries towards Rebellion. How much more Christian was that *Athenian Nun* in *Plutarch*, and how shall She rise up in judgment

BOOK VI. against those Men, who, when *Alcibiades* was condemned by the public Justice of the State, and a Decree made that all the Religious Priests and Women should ban and curse him, stoutly refused to perform that office; answering, "that she was professed Religious, to *pray* and to *bless*, not to *curse*" and to *ban*." And if the Person, and the Place can improve and aggravate the offence (as without doubt it doth, both before God and Man) methinks the Preaching Treason and Rebellion out of the Pulpits should be worse than the advancing it in the Market, as much as poisoning a Man at the Communion would be worse than murdering him at a Tavern. And it may be, in that Catalogue of Sins, which the Zeal of some Men hath thought to be the Sin against the Holy Ghost, there may not any one be more reasonably thought to be such, than a Minister of Christ's turning Rebel against his Prince (which is a most notorious Apostacy against his Order) and his Preaching Rebellion, to the People, as the Doctrine of Christ; which, adding blasphemy and pertinacy to his Apostacy, hath all the marks by which good men are taught to avoid that Sin against the Holy Ghost.

The Earl of Essex moves with his Army from Northampton.

Within three or four days after the King's remove from *Nottingham*, the Earl of *Essex*, with his whole Army, removed from *Northampton*, and marched towards *Worcester*; of which his Majesty had no former Intelligence, than he sent Prince *Rupert*, with the greatest part of the Horse, on the other side of the *Stern*, towards that City; as well to observe the motion of the Enemy, as to give all assistance

to that place, which had declared good affections to him; at least to countenance and secure the retreat of those Gentlemen, who were there raising Forces for the King; but especially to join with Sir John Byron, whom his Majesty had sent, in the end of *August*, to *Oxford*, to convey some Money, which had been secretly brought from *London* thither to his Majesty. And he, after some small disasters in his March, by the insurrection of the Country-*People*, who were encouraged by the Agents for the *Parliament*, and seconded by the Officers of the *Militia*, came safe with his charge to *Worcester*; where he had been very few hours, when a strong Party of Horse and Dragoons, being sent by the *Earl of Essex*, under the Command of *Nathaniel Jones*, son to the *Lord Say*, came to surprise the Town; which was open enough to have been entered in many places, though in some it had an old decayed Wall, and, at the most usual and frequented entrances into the City, weak and rotten Gates to be shut, but without either Lock or Bolt.

Yet this Commander, coming early in the morning, when the small Guard which had watched, conceiving all to be secure, were gone to rest, and being within Musquet-shot of the Gate before he was discovered, finding that weak Gate shut, or rather closed against him, and not that quick appearance of a Party within the Town, as he promised himself, without doing any harm, retired in great disorder and with so much haste, that the wearied Horse, sent out presently to attend him, could not overtake any of his Train; so that when Prince

BOOK VI. *Rupert* came thither, they did not conceive any considerable Party of the Enemy to be near. However his Highness resolved to retire from thence, as soon as he should receive perfect Intelligence of the motion of the Enemy, when on the sudden reposing himself on the ground with Prince *Maurice* his Brother, the Lord *Digby*, and the principal Officers in the field before the Town, some of his wearied Troops (for they had had a long march) being by, but the rest and most of the Officers in the Town, he espied a fair Body of Horse, consisting of near five hundred, marching in very good Order up a Lane within Musquet-shot of him. In this confusion, they had scarce time to get upon their Horses, and none to consult of what was to be done, or to put themselves into their several places of Command. And, it may be, it was well they had not; for if all those Officers had been in the heads of their several Troops, it is not impossible it might have been worse. But the Prince instantly declaring, "that he would Charge;" his Brother, the Lord *Digby*, Commissary-General *Wilmot*, Sir *John Byron*, Sir *Lewis Dives*, and all those Officers and Gentlemen, whose Troops were not present or ready, put themselves next the Prince, the other wearied Troops coming in order after them.

A Rencontre
between the
Forces near
Worcester,
where Prince
Rupert gets
the better.

In this manner the Prince Charged them, as soon as they came out of the Lane; and being seconded by this handful of good Men, though the Rebels being gallantly led by Colonel *Sandys* (a Gentleman of *Kent*, and the Son of a worthy Father)

and completely armed both for Offence, and Defence, stood well; yet in a short time, many of their best Men being killed, and Colonel *Sandys* Himself falling with his hurts, the whole Body was routed, fled, and was pursued by the Conquerors for the space of above a mile. The number of the slain were not many, not above forty or fifty, and those most Officers; for their Arms were so good, that in the charge they were not to be easily killed, and in the chase the goodness of their Horse made it impossible. Colonel *Sandys* who died shortly after of his wounds, Captain *Wingate* who was the more known, by being a Member of the House of Commons, and taken notice of for having in that charge behaved himself stoutly, and two or three *Scottish* Officers, were taken Prisoners. Of the King's Party none of Name was lost: Commissary-General *Wilmot* hurt with a Sword in the side, and Sir *Lewis Dives* in the shoulder, and two or three other Officers of inferior Note; none miscarrying of their wounds, which was the more strange for that, by reason they expected not an encounter, there was not, on the Prince's side, a piece of Armour worn that day, and but few Pistols; so that most of the hurt that was done was by the Sword. Six or seven Cornets of the Enemies were taken, and many good Horses, and some Arms; for they who run away made themselves as light as they could.

This Rencontre proved of great advantage, and benefit to the King. For it being the first Action his Horse had been brought to. and that party of the Enemy being the most picked and choice Men, it

B O O K VI. gave his Troops great courage, and rendered the name of Prince *Rupert* very terrible, and exceedingly appalled the adversary; insomuch as they had not, in a long time after, any confidence in their Horse, and their very Numbers were much lessened by it. For that whole party being routed, and the chief Officers of Name and Reputation either killed, or taken, though the number lost upon the place was not considerable, there were very many more who never returned to the service; and, which was worse, for their own excuse, in all places, talked aloud of the incredible, and unresistible courage of Prince *Rupert*, and the King's Horse. So that, from this time, the Parliament, begun to be apprehensive, that the business would not be as easily ended, as it was begun; and that the King would not be brought back to them with their bare Votes. Yet how faintly soever the private pulses beat (for no question many who had made the greatest noise, wished they were again to chuse their side) the two Houses were so far from any visible abatement of their mettle, that to weigh down any possible supposition that they might be inclined, or drawn to treat with the King, or that they had any apprehension that the people would be less firm, and constant to them, they proceeded to bolder Acts to evince both, than they had yet done.

For to the first, to show how secure they were against resentment from his Allies, as well as against his Majesty's own power, they caused the Capuchin-Friars, who, by the Articles of Marriage, were to have a safe reception and entertainment in the

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Queen's Family, and had, by her Majesty's care, and at her charge, a small, but a convenient habitation, by her own Chapel, in her own House, in the *Strand*, and had continued there, without disturbance, from the time of the Marriage, after many insolencies and indignities offered to them by the rude Multitude, even within those Gates of her own House, to be taken from thence, and to be sent over into *France*, with protestation "that
" if they were found again in *England*, they should
" be proceeded against as Traytors:" and this in the face of the *French* Ambassador, who notwithstanding withdrew not from them his Courtship, and Application.

Then, that the King might know how little they dreaded his Forces, they sent down their Instructions to the Earl of *Essex* their General, who had long expected them; whereby among other things of form for the better discipline of the Army, " They re-
" quired him to march with such Forces as he
" thought fit, towards the Army raised, in his Ma-
" jesty's Name, against the Parliament, and the
" Kingdom; and with them, or any part of them,
" to fight, at such time and place as he should judge
" most to conduce to the Peace and Safety of the
" Kingdom: and that he should use his utmost en-
" deavour by battle, or otherwise, to rescue his
" Majesty's Person, and the Persons of the Prince,
" and Duke of *York*, out of the hands of those des-
" perate persons, who were then about them. They
" directed him to take an opportunity, in some safe
" and honorable way, to cause the Petition of both

The two
Houses In-
structions to
their General.

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“ Houses of Parliament, then sent to him, to be
“ presented to his Majesty; and if his Majesty should
“ thereupon please to withdraw himself from the
“ Forces then about him, and to resort to the Par-
“ liament, his Lordship should cause his Majesty’s
“ Forces to disband, and should serve and defend
“ his Majesty with a sufficient strength in his return.
“ They required his Lordship to publish and declare,
“ that if any who had been so seduced, by the false
“ aspersions cast upon the proceedings of the Parlia-
“ ment, as to assist the King in acting of those dan-
“ gerous Counsels, should willingly, within ten
“ days after such publication in the Army, return
“ to their duty, not doing any hostile Act within
“ the time limited, and join themselves with the
“ Parliament in defence of Religion, his Majesty’s
“ Person, the Liberties, and Law of the Kingdom,
“ and Privileges of Parliament, with their Persons,
“ and Estates, as the Members of both Houses, and
“ the rest of the Kingdom have done, that the Lords
“ and Commons would be ready, upon their sub-
“ mission, to receive such persons in such a manner,
“ as they should have cause to acknowledge they
“ had been used with clemency and favor; provided
“ that That favor should not extend to admit any
“ Man into either House of Parliament, who stood
“ suspended, without giving satisfaction to the House
“ whereof he should be a Member; and except all Per-
“ sons who stood impeached, or particularly voted
“ against in either House of Parliament for any De-
“ linquency whatsoever; excepting likewise such
“ adherents of those, who stood impeached in Par-

“liament of Treason, as had been eminent Persons, B O O K
 “and chief Actors in those Treasons.” And lest VI.
 those clauses of exception (which no doubt comprehended all the King’s Party, and if not, They were still to be judges of their own clemency and favor, which was all was promised to the humblest penitent) might invite those, whom they had no mind to receive on any terms, they vouchsafed a
 “particular exception of the Earl of *Bristol*, the
 “Earl of *Cumberland*, the Earl of *New-Castle*, the
 “Earl of *Rivers*, the Duke of *Richmond*, the Earl
 “of *Carnarvon*, the Lord *Newark*, and the Lord
 “Viscount *Falkland* Principal Secretary of State to
 “his Majesty, Mr. Secretary *Nicholas*, Mr. *Endymion Porter*, Mr. *Edward Hyde* ;” against not one of whom was there a Charge depending of any crime, and against very few of them so much as a Vote, which was no great matter of Delinquency.

It will be here necessary to insert the Petition, directed to be presented in some safe and honorable way to his Majesty ; the rather for that the same was, upon the reasons hereafter mentioned, never presented ; which was afterwards objected to his Majesty as a rejection of Peace on His part, when They desired it. The Petition was in these words.

“We your Majesty’s Loyal Subjects, the Lords
 “and Commons in Parliament, cannot, without
 “great grief, and tenderness of compassion, behold
 “the pressing miseries, the imminent dangers, and
 “the devouring calamities, which extremely threaten,
 “and have partly seized upon both your Kingdoms of *England*, and *Ireland*, by the practices

The Petition of both Houses to the King, sent to the General to be presented, but never believed.

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VI.

“ of a Party prevailing with your Majesty; who,
 “ by many wicked Plots and Conspiracies have at-
 “ tempted the alteration of the true Religion, and
 “ the ancient Government of this Kingdom, and
 “ the introducing of Popish Idolatry and Supersti-
 “ tion in the Church, and Tyranny and Confusion
 “ in the State: and, for the compelling thereof, have
 “ long corrupted your Majesty’s Councils, abused
 “ your power, and by sudden and untimely dissol-
 “ ving of former Parliaments, have often hindered
 “ the reformation and prevention of those mischiefs:
 “ and being now disabled to avoid the endeavours
 “ of this Parliament, by any such means, have
 “ Traiterously attempted to overawe the same by
 “ Force, and, in prosecution of their wicked designs,
 “ have excited, encouraged, and fostered, an un-
 “ natural Rebellion in *Ireland*; by which, in a most
 “ cruel and outrageous manner, many thousands of
 “ your Majesty’s Subjects there, have been de-
 “ stroyed; and, by false slanders upon your Parlia-
 “ ment, and malicious and unjust Accusations,
 “ have endeavoured to begin the like Massacre Here;
 “ and being, through God’s blessing, therein dis-
 “ appointed, have, as the most mischievous and
 “ bloody design of all, drawn your Majesty to make
 “ War against your Parliament; and good Subjects
 “ of this Kingdom leading in your Person an Army
 “ against them, as if you intended, by Conquest,
 “ to establish an absolute and unlimited power over
 “ them; and by your power, and the countenance
 “ of your presence, have ransacked, spoiled, im-
 “ prisoned, and murdered divers of your people;
 “ and,

“ and, for their better assistance in their wicked
 “ designs, do seek to bring over the Rebels of
 “ *Ireland*, and other Forces beyond the Seas, to
 “ join with them.

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“ And We, finding ourselves utterly deprived
 “ of your Majesty's Protection, and the Authors,
 “ Counsellors, and Abettors of these mischiefs in
 “ greatest power and favor with your Majesty, and
 “ defended by You against the Justice, and Autho-
 “ rity of your High Court of Parliament; whereby
 “ they are grown to that height and insolence, as
 “ to manifest their rage and malice against those of
 “ the Nobility, and others, who are any whit in-
 “ clinable to Peace, not without great appearance
 “ of danger to your own Royal Person, if you shall
 “ not in all things concur with their wicked and
 “ Traiterous courses; have, for the just and neces-
 “ sary defence of the Protestant Religion, of your
 “ Majesty's Person, Crown, and Dignity, of the
 “ Laws and Liberties of the Kingdom, and the Pri-
 “ vileges and Power of Parliament, taken up Arms,
 “ and appointed and authorized *Robert Earl of Essex*
 “ to be Captain General of all the Forces by us raised,
 “ and to lead and conduct the same against these
 “ Rebels and Traitors, and them to subdue, and
 “ bring to condign punishment; and do most hum-
 “ bly beseech your Majesty to withdraw your Royal
 “ presence and countenance from those wicked Per-
 “ sons; and, if they shall stand out in defence of
 “ their Rebellious and unlawful attempts, that your
 “ Majesty will leave them to be suppressed by that
 “ power, which We have sent against them; and

B O O K VI. “ that your Majesty will not mix your own dangers
 “ with theirs, but in Peace and Safety, without
 “ your Forces, forthwith return to your Parliament;
 “ and by their faithful Counsel and Advice, com-
 “ pose the present distempers and confusions abound-
 “ ing in both your Kingdoms; and provide for the
 “ security and honor of yourself, and your Royal
 “ Posterity, and the prosperous Estate of all your
 “ Subjects; wherein if your Majesty please to yield
 “ to our most humble, and earnest desires, We do,
 “ in the presence of Almighty God, profess, that
 “ We will receive your Majesty with all honor,
 “ yield you all due obedience, and subjection, and
 “ faithfully endeavour to secure your Person and
 “ Estate from all dangers; and, to the uttermost of
 “ our power, to procure and establish to yourself,
 “ and to your People, all the blessings of a glorious
 “ and happy Reign.”

Besides this, that it might appear, they were nothing jealous or apprehensive of the People's defection and revolt from them, whereas before they had made the general desire of the Kingdom the ground, and argument for whatsoever they had done, and had only invited Men to contribute freely what they thought fit, to the charge in hand, without compelling any who were unwilling; they now took notice not only of those who opposed their proceedings, or privately dissuaded other Men from concurring with them, but of those, who either out of fear, or covetousness, or both, had neglected really to contribute; and therefore they boldly published their Votes (which were Laws to the People, or of

much more Authority) "That all such Persons, as
 "should not contribute to the charge of the Common-
 "wealth, in that time of eminent necessity, should
 "be disarmed and secured;" and that this Vote
 might be the more terrible, they ordered, the same
 day, the Mayor and Sheriffs of *London* "to search
 "the Houses, and seize the Arms belonging to some
 "Aldermen, and other principal substantial Citi-
 "zens of *London*," whom they named in their Or-
 der; "for that it appeared by the report from their
 "Committee, that they had not contributed, as
 "they ought, to the charge of the Common-
 "wealth."

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 Votes of both
 Houses for
 raising and
 procuring
 Money.

By this means the poorest, and lowest of the Peo-
 ple, became Informers against the richest, and most
 substantial; and the result of searching the Houses
 and seizing the Arms was, the taking away Plate,
 and things of the greatest Value, and very frequently
 plundering whatsoever was worth the keeping. They
 farther appointed, "that the Fines, Rents, and
 "Profits, of Arch-Bishops, Bishops, Deans, Deans
 "and Chapters, and of all Delinquents, who had
 "taken up Arms against the Parliament, or had
 "been Active in the Commission of Array, should
 "be sequestered for the use and benefit of the Com-
 "mon-wealth." And that the King might not fare
 better than his Adherents, they directed "all his
 "Revenue, arising out of Rents, Fines in Courts
 "of Justice. Composition for Wards, and the like,
 "and all other his Revenue should be brought into
 "the several Courts, and other places, where they
 "ought to be paid in," and not issued forth, ex

B O O K paid forth, until farther Order should be taken by
 both Houses of Parliament; without so much as
 assigning him any part of his Own, towards the support of his own Person.

This stout invasion of the People's property, and compelling them to part with what was most precious to them, any part of their Estates, was thought by many an unpopular Act, in the morning of their Sovereignty, and that it would wonderfully have irreconciled their new Subjects to them. But the Conductors well understood, that their Empire already depended more on the Fear, than Love of the People; and that as they could carry on the War only by having Money enough to pay the Soldiers, so, that whilst they had That, probably they should not want Men to recruit their Armies upon any misadventure.

It cannot be imagined, how great advantages the King received by the Parliament's rejecting the King's Messages for Peace, and their manner in doing it. All Men's mouths were opened against them, the Messages and Answers being read in all Churches; they who could not serve him in their Persons, contrived ways to supply him with Money. Some eminent Governors in the Universities gave him notice that all the Colleges were very plentifully supplied with Plate, which would amount to a good Value, and lay useless in their Treasuries, there being enough besides for their Common Use; and there was not the least doubt, but that whensoever his Majesty should think fit to require that Treasure, it would all be sent to him. Of this the

King had long thought, and, when he was at *Nottingham*, in that Melancholic season, two Gentlemen were despatched away to *Oxford*, and to *Cambridge* (two to each) with Letters to the several Vice-Chancellors, that they should move the Heads, and Principals of the several Colleges and Halls, that they would send their Plate to the King; private advertisements being first sent to some trusty Persons to prepare, and dispose those, without whose consent the service could not be performed.

This whole affair was transacted with so great secrecy and discretion, that the Messengers returned from the two Universities, in as short a time as such a Journey could well be made; and brought with them all, or very near all their Plate, and a considerable Sum of Money, which was sent as a Present to his Majesty from several of the Heads of of Colleges, out of their own particular Stores; some Scholars coming with it, and helping to procure Horses and Carts for the service; all which came safe to *Nottingham*, at the time when there appeared no more expectation of a Treaty, and contributed much to raising the dejected Spirits of the place. The Plate was presently weighed out, and delivered to the several Officers, who were intrusted to make Levies of Horse and Foot, and who received it as Money, the rest was carefully preserved to be carried with the King, when he should remove from thence; secret Orders being sent to the Officers of the Mint, to be ready to come to his Majesty as soon as he should require them, which he meant to do, as soon as he should find him-

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The two Universities contributed their Money and Plate to the King.

B O O K self in a place convenient. There was now no more
 VI. complaining or murmuring. Some Gentlemen undertook to make Levies upon their Credit, and Interest, and others sent Money to the King upon their own Inclinations.

There was a pleasant Story, then much spoken of in the Court, which administered some Mirth. There were two great Men who lived near *Nottingham*, both Men of great Fortunes and of great Parsimony, and known to have much Money lying by them. To the former the Lord *Capel* was sent, to the latter, *John Abshurnham* of the Bed-Chamber, and of entire confidence with his Master; each of them with a Letter, all written with the King's hand, to borrow of each ten or five thousand pounds. *Capel* was very civilly received by One, and entertained as well as the ill accommodation in his House, and his manner of living would admit. He expressed, with wonderful civil professions of duty, "the great trouble he sustained, in not being able to comply with his Majesty's Commands:" He said, "all Men knew that he neither had, nor could have Money, because he had every year, of ten or a dozen which were past, purchased a thousand pounds Land a year; and therefore he could not be imagined to have any Money lying by him, which he never loved to have. But, he said, he had a Neighbour, who lived within few Miles of him, who was good for nothing, and lived like a Hog, not allowing himself Necessaries, and who could not have so little as twenty thousand pounds in the scurvy House in which he

“ lived ;” and advised, “ he might be sent to ; who
“ cou'd not deny the having of Money ;” and con-
cluded with great duty to the King, and detestation
of the Parliament, and as if he meant to consider
farther of the thing, and to endeavour to get some
Money for him, which though he did not remember
to send, his affections were good, and he was after-
wards killed in the King's Service.

Ashburnham got no more Money, nor half so
many good words. That Lord had so little corre-
spondence with the Court, that he had never heard
his Name, and when he had read the King's Letter,
he asked from whom it was ; and when he told him,
“ he saw it was from the King, he replied, that he
“ was not such a fool as to believe it. That he had
“ received Letters both from the King and his
“ Father ;” and hastily running out of the Room,
returned with half a dozen Letters in his hand ;
saying, “ that those were all the King's Letters, and
“ that they always begun with *Right Trusty and*
“ *Well beloved*, and the King's Name was ever at the
“ Top ; but this Letter begun with his own Name,
“ and ended with your loving friend *C. R.* which,
“ he said, he was sure, could not be the King's
“ hand.” His other treatment was according to this,
and after an ill Supper, he was showed an indifferent
bed ; the Lord telling him, “ that he would confer
“ more of the matter in the morning ;” he having
sent a Servant with a Letter to the Lord *Falkland*,
who was his Wife's Nephew, and who had scarce
ever seen his Uncle. The Man came to *Nottingham*
about Midnight, and found my Lord *Falkland* in

BOOK VI. his Bed. The Letter was to tell him, "that one
 VI. "*Ashburnham* was with him, who brought him a
 "Letter, which he said was from the King; but he
 "knew that could not be; and therefore he desired
 "to know, who this Man was, whom he kept in
 "his House till the Messenger should return." In
 spite of the laughter, which could not be forborne,
 the Lord *Bedford* made haste to inform him of the
 Condition and Quality of the Person, and that the
 Letter was writ with the King's own hand, which
 he seldom vouchsafed to do. And the Messenger
 returning early the next morning, his Lordship
 treated Mr. *Ashburnham* with so different a respect,
 that he, who knew nothing of the cause, believed,
 that he should return with all the Money that was
 desired. But it was not long before he was unde-
 ceived. The Lord with as cheerful a Countenance
 as His could be, for he had a very unusual and
 unpleasant face, told him, "that though he had
 "no Money Himself, but was in extreme want of
 "it, he would tell him where he might have Money
 "enough; that he had a Neighbour, who lived
 "within four or five Miles, that never did good
 "to any body, and loved no body but himself,
 "who had a world of Money, and could furnish
 "the King with as much as he had need of, and if
 "he should deny that he had Money when the King
 "sent to him, he knew were he had one Trunk
 "full, and would discover it; and that he was so
 "ill beloved and had so few friends, that no body
 "would care how the King used him." This good
 Counsel was all Mr. *Ashburnham* could make of him:

and yet this wretched Man so was far from wishing well to the Parliament, that when they had prevailed, and were possessed of the whole Kingdom, as well as of *Nottinghamshire*. he would not give them one penny; nor compound for his Delinquency, as they made the having lived in the King's Quarters to be; but suffered his whole Estate to be sequestered, and lived in a very miserable fashion, only by what he could ravish from his Tenants; who, though they paid their Rents to the Parliament, were forced by his rage and threats to part with so much as kept him, till he died, in that condition he chose to live in: His conscience being powerful enough to deny Himself, though it could not dispose him to grant to the King. And thus the two Messengers returned to the King, so near the same time, that he who came first, had not given his account to the King, before the other entered into his presence.

The same day, a Gentleman in those parts, known to be very rich, being pressed to lend the King five hundred pounds, sent him a present of one hundred pieces in Gold; which, "he said, he had procured with great difficulty; and protested, with many execrable imprecations, that he had never in his life seen five hundred pounds of his own together;" when, within one Month after the King's departure, the Parliament-Troops, which borrowed in another style, took five thousand pounds from him, which was lodged with him, in the Chamber in which he lay. Which is therefore mentioned in this place, that upon this occasion it may be

B O O K seen, that the unthrifty retention of their Money,
VI. which possessed the spirits of those, who did really
 with the King all the success he wished for himself,
 was one unhappy cause of all his misfortunes: and
 if they had, in the beginning, but lent the King
 the fifth part of what, after infinite losses, they
 found necessary to sacrifice to his Enemies, in the
 conclusion, to preserve themselves from total ruin,
 his Majesty had been able, with God's blessing, to
 have preserved Them, and to have destroyed all
 his Enemies.

The news of the important advantage before
Worcester found the King at *Chester*, whither his
 Majesty thought necessary to make a Journey him-
 self, as soon as he came to *Shrewsbury*, both to assure
 that City to his Service, which was the Key to
Ireland, and to countenance the Lord *Strange*,
 (who, by the death of his Father, became Earl of
Derby) against some opposition he met with, on the
 behalf of the Parliament. Here *Crane*, sent by Prince
Rupert, gave his Majesty an Account of that Action;
 and presented him with the Ensigns, which had
 been taken; and informed him of the Earl of *Essex's*
 being in *Worcester*; which made the King return
 sooner to *Shrewsbury* than he intended, and before
 the Earl of *Derby* was possessed of that power, which
 a little longer stay would have given him.

Prince *Rupert* the same Night, after his Victory,
 finding the gross of the Rebels Army to be within
 five or six miles, against which that City was in no
 degree Tenable, though all the King's Foot had
 been there, retired from *Worcester* on the *Welsh*

side of the River, without any disturbance, into his Quarters near *Shrewsbury*, and with all his Prisoners, Colonel *Sandys* only excepted, whom he left to die of his wounds there; the Earl of *Essex* being so much startled with this late Defeat, that he advanced not in two days after; and then being surely informed, that he should find no resistance, he entered with his Army into *Worcester*; using great severity to those Citizens, who had been Eminently inclined to the King's Service, and sending the principal of them Prisoners to *London*.

Upon the King's coming to *Shrewsbury*, there was a very great conflux of the Gentry there, and the Neighbouring Counties, which were generally well affected, and made great professions of Duty to his Majesty: some of them undertook to make Levies of Horse and Foot, and performed it at their own Charge. The Town was very Commodious in all respects, strong in it's Situation; and in respect of it's Neighbourhood to North-*Wales*, and the use of the *Severn*, yielded excellent Provisions of all kinds; so that both Court and Army were very well Accommodated. only the incurable disease of want of Money could not be assuaged in either. Yet whilst they sat still, it was not very sensible, much less importunate. The Soldiers behaved themselves orderly, and the People were not inclined, or provoked to complain of their new Guests; and the remainder of the Plate, which was brought from the Universities, together with the small presents in Money, which were made to the King by many particular Persons, supplied the present neces-

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The King
comes to
Shrewsbury.

B O O K VI. fary Expenses very conveniently. But it was easily discerned, that, when the Army should move, which the King resolved it should do with all possible Expedition, the necessity of Money would be very great, and the Train of Artillery, which is commonly a Sponge that can hardly be filled, was destitute of all things necessary for motion. Nor was there any hope that it could march, till a good Sum of Money were assigned to it; some Carriage-Horses, and Waggon, which were prepared for the Service of *Ireland*, and lay ready at *Chester*, to be transported with the Earl of *Leicester*, Lieutenant of that Kingdom, were brought to *Shrewsbury*, by his Majesty's Order, for his own Train: And the Earl's passionate laboring to prevent, or remedy that Application, with some other reasons, hindered the Earl himself from pursuing that Journey; and, in the end, deprived him of that Province. But this seasonable addition to the Train increased the necessity of Money, there being more use of it thereby.

Two Expedients were found to make such a competent provision for all wants, that they were at last broken through. Some Persons of that inclination had insinuated to the King, that, "if the Roman Catholics, which that, and the adjacent Counties were well inhabited by, were secretly treated with, a considerable Sum of Money might be raised among them; but it must be carried with great privacy, that no notice might be taken of it, the Parliament having declared so great Animosities against them;" nor did it in that conjuncture concern the King less that it should be very secret, to

avoid the scandal of a close conjunction with the Papists, which was every day imputed to Him. Upon many Consultations how, and in what method to carry on this Design, the King was informed, "that if he would depute a Person, much trusted by Him, to that Service, the Roman Catholics would trust him, and assign one or two of their Body to confer with him, and by this means the work might be carried on." Hereupon the King sent for that Person, and told him this whole matter, as it is here set down, and required him to consult with such a Person, whom he would send to him the next Morning. The next Morning a Person of Quality very much trusted by all that Party, came to him to confer upon that subject; and showed a list of the Names of all the Gentlemen of Quality and Fortune of that Religion, who were all Convict Recusants, and lived within those Counties of *Shropshire* and *Stafford*. They appeared to be a good Number of very valuable Men, on whose behalf he had only Authority to conclude, though he believed that the method, they agreed on there, would be submitted to, and confirmed by that Party in all other places. He said, "they would by no means hearken to any motion for the Loan of Money, for which they had paid so dear, upon their serving the King in that manner, in his first Expedition against the Scots." It was in the end agreed upon, that the King should write to every one of them to pay him an advance of two, or three Years of such Rent, as they were every Year obliged to pay him, upon the composition they had made with him for their Estates; which would amount to a considerable Sum of

B O O K Money. And these Letters were accordingly writ,
VI. and within ten or twelve days, between four and five thousand pounds were returned to his Majesty, which was a seasonable supply for his Affairs

At his return to *Shrewsbury*, the King found as much done towards his March, as he expected. And then the other Expedient (which was hinted before) for Money offered itself. There was a Gentleman of a very good Extraction, and of the best Estate of any Gentleman of that County, who lived within four or five miles of *Shrewsbury*, and was looked upon as a very prudent Man, and had a very powerful Influence upon that People, and was of undoubted Affections and Loyalty to the King, and to the Government both in Church, and State: his Eldest Son was a young Gentleman of great Expectation, and of excellent Parts, a Member of the House of Commons, who had behaved himself there very well. This Gentleman intimated to a friend of his, "That, if his Father might be made a Baron, he did believe he might be prevailed with, to present his Majesty with a good Sum of Money." It was proposed to the King, who had no mind to embrace the proposition, his Majesty taking occasion often to speak against "making Merchandize of Honor; how much the Crown suffered at present by the Licence of that kind, which had been used during the Favor of the Duke of *Buckingham*; and that he had not taken a firmer Resolution against many things, than against this particular Expedient for raising Money." However, after he returned from *Chester*, and found by the increase of his

Levies, and the good disposition all things were in, that he might in a short time be able to March, and in so good a Condition, that he should rather seek the Rebels, than decline meeting with them, if the indispensable want of Money did not make his motion impossible; the Merit and Ability of the Person, and the fair expectation from his Posterity, he having two Sons, both very hopeful, prevailed with his Majesty to resume the same overture; and in few days it was perfected, and the Gentleman was made a Baron; who presented the Sum of six thousand pounds to his Majesty; whereupon all preparations for the Army were prosecuted with effect.

As soon as the King came to *Shrewsbury*, he had despatched his Letters and Agents into *Wales*, *Cheshire*, and *Lancashire*, to quicken the Levies of Men which were making there, and returned from *Chester* through the North part of *Wales*, (where he found the People Cordial to him, and Arming themselves for him) to *Shrewsbury*. The King's custom was in all Counties, through which he passed, to cause the High Sheriff to draw all the Gentleman, and the most substantial Inhabitants of those parts together, to whom (besides his Caressing the principal Gentlemen severally, familiarly, and very obligingly) he always spoke something publicly (which was afterwards Printed) telling them,

“ That it was a benefit to him from the Insolencies
 “ and Misfortunes, which had driven him about,
 “ that they had brought him to so good a part of his
 “ Kingdom, and to so faithful a part of his People.
 “ He hoped, neither They, nor He should repent

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The substance
 of the King's
 Speeches to
 the Gentry
 and Common-
 alty of the
 several Count.

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ties through
which he
passed.

“ their coming together. He would do His part,
 “ that they might not; and of Them he was confi-
 “ dent before he came ” He told them, “ the Resi-
 “ dence, of an Army was not usually pleasant to any
 “ place; and His might carry more fear with it,
 “ since it might be thought (being robbed, and
 “ spoiled of all his own, and such Terror used to
 “ fright and keep all Men from supplying him) he
 “ must only live upon the Aid and Relief of his
 “ People. But he bid them not be afraid;” and
 “ said, “ he wished to God, his poor Subjects suffered
 “ no more by the Insolence, and Violence, of that
 “ Army raised against him, though they had made
 “ themselves wanton with Plenty, than they should
 “ do by His; and yet he feared he should not be
 “ able to prevent all Disorders; he would do his best;
 “ and promised them, no Man should be a loser by
 “ him if he could help it ” He said “ he had sent for
 “ a Mint, and would melt down all his own Plate,
 “ and expose all his Land to Sale. or mortgage, that
 “ he might bring the least pressure upon them.”
 However, he invited them “ to do that for him, and
 “ themselves, for the maintenance of their Religion,
 “ and the Law of the Land (by which they enjoyed
 “ all that they had) which other Men did against
 “ them;” he desired them, “ not to suffer so good
 “ a Cause to be lost, for want of supplying him with
 “ that, which would be taken from them. by those
 “ who pursued his Majesty with that Violence. And
 “ whilst those ill Men sacrificed their Money, Plate
 “ and utmost Industry, to destroy the Common-
 “ wealth, They would be no less liberal to Preserve
 it.

“ it. He bid them assure themselves, if it pleased
 “ God to bless him with Success, he would re-
 “ member the Assistance every particular Man gave
 “ him to his advantage. However it would here-
 “ after (how furiously soever the minds of some
 “ Men were now possessed) be Honor and Comfort
 “ to them, that with some charge and trouble to
 “ themselves, they had done Their part to Support
 “ their King and Preserve the Kingdom.

His Majesty always took notice of any particular reports, which, either with reference to the public, or their private concerns, might make impression upon that People, and gave clear Answers to them. With this gracious and Princely demeanour, it is hardly credible how much he won upon the People; so that not only his Army daily increased by Volunteers (for there was not a Men pressed) but such proportions of Plate, and Money, were voluntarily brought in, that the Army was fully and constantly paid: the King having erected a Mint at *Shrewsbury*, more for reputation than use (For, for want of Workmen, and Instruments, they could not Coin a thousand pounds a week) and causing all his own Plate, for the Service of his Household, to be delivered there, made other Men think, theirs was the less worth the preserving.

Shortly after the Earl of *Essex* came to *Worcester*, he sent a Gentleman (*Fleetwood*, the same who had afterwards so great power in the Army, but then a Trooper in his Guards) to *Shrewsbury*, without a Trumpet, or any other ceremony than a Letter to the Earl of *Dorset*; in which he said, “ he was ap-

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“ pointed by the Parliament, to cause a Petition,
 “ then in his hands, to be presented to his Majesty;
 “ and therefore desired his Lordship to know his Ma-
 “ jesty’s pleasure, when he would be pleased to re-
 “ ceive it from such Persons, as he should send over
 “ with it.” The Earl of *Dorset* (by his Majesty’s
 command, after it had been debated in Council
 what Answer to return) sent him word in writing,
 “ that the King had always been, and would be still
 “ ready to receive any Petition from his two Houses
 “ of Parliament; and if the Earl had any such to be
 “ presented, if he sent it by any Persons, who stood
 “ not Personally accused by his Majesty of High-
 “ Treason, and excepted specially in all offers of
 “ Pardon made by him, the Persons who brought
 “ it should be welcome; and the King would return
 “ such an answer to it, as should be agreeable to
 “ Honor, and Justice.” Whether this limitation as
 to Messengers displeased them (as it was afterwards
 said, that the Messengers appointed to have deli-
 vered it were the Lord *Mandevil*, and Mr. *Hambden*,
 who they thought, would have skill to make insu-
 sions into many Persons then about his Majesty;
 and the hopes of that access being barred by that limi-
 tation, and exception, they would not sent any
 other) or what other reason soever there was, the
 King heard no more of this Petition, or any Address
 of that Nature, till he found, by some new printed
 Votes, and Declarations, “ that he was guilty of
 “ the Privilege of Parliament, for having refused to
 “ receive their Petition, except it were presented in
 “ such a manner as He prescribed: Whereas They

“ alone were Judges in what manner, and by what
 “ Persons their own Petitions should be delivered,
 “ and he ought so to receive them.” So that Petition
 which is before set down in the very terms it passed
 both Houses, was never delivered to his Majesty.

There cannot be too often mention of the wonder-
 ful Providence of God, that from that low despised
 condition the King was in at *Nottingham*, after the
 setting up his Standard, he should be able to get
 Men, Money, or Arms, so that, within twenty
 days after his coming to *Shrewsbury*, he resolved to
 march, in despite of the Enemy, even towards
London; his Foot, by this time, consisting of about
 six thousand; and his Horse of two thousand; his
 Train in very good order, commanded by Sir *John*
Heydon. And though this strength was much inferior
 to the Enemy, yet as it was greater than any Man
 thought possible to be raised, so all thought it suffi-
 cient to encounter the Rebels. Besides that it was
 confidently believed (and not without some grounds,
 upon correspondence with some Officers in the other
 Army) that, as soon as the Armies came within any
 reasonable distance of each other, very many Soldiers
 would leave their Colors, and come to the King;
 which expectation was confirmed by divers Soldiers,
 who every day dropped in from those Forces; and,
 to make themselves welcome, told many Stories of
 their Fellows resolutions, whom they had left
 behind.

And this must be confessed, that either by the care
 and diligence of the Officers, or by the good inclina-
 tions, and temper of the Soldiers themselves, the

B O O K Army was in so good order and discipline, that,
VI. during the King's stay at *Shrewsbury*, there was not any remarkable disorder; the Country being very kind to the Soldiers, and the Soldiers, just and regardful to the Country. And by the free Loans, and Contributions of the Gentlemen, and Substantial Inhabitants, but especially by the assistance of the Nobility, who attended, the Army was so well paid, that there was not the least mutiny or discontent for want of pay; nor was there any cause; for they seldom failed every week, never went above a fortnight unpaid.

The greatest difficulty was to provide Arms; of which indeed there was a wonderful scarcity, the King being exceedingly disappointed in his expectation of Arms from *Holland*; a Vessel or two having been taken by his own Ships, under the Command of the Earl of *Warwick*; so that, except eight hundred musquets, five hundred pair of Pistols, and two hundred Swords, which came with the Powder, landed in *Yorkshire*, as is before mentioned, the King had none in his Magazine; so that he was compelled to begin at *Nottingham*, and so in all places as he passed, to borrow the Arms from the Trained-bands; which was done with so much wariness and caution (albeit it was known that those Arms would, being left in those hands, be employed against him, or at least be of no use to him) that it was done rather with their consent, than by any constraint, and always with the full approbation of their Commanders. And therefore in *Yorkshire*, and *Shropshire*, where the Gentlemen very unskillfully, though with good meaning, desired that the Arms

might still be left in the Country-Men's hands, there was none of that kind of borrowing. But, in all places, the Noblemen, and Gentlemen of Quality, sent the King such supplies of Arms, out of their own Armouries (which were very mean) so that by all those Means together, the Foot, all but three or four hundred, who marched without any Weapon but a Cudgel, were Armed with Musquets, and Bags for their Powder, and Pikes; but, in the whole Body, there was not a Pikeman had a Corset, and very few Musqueteers who had Swords. Among the Horse, the Officers had their full desire, if they were able to procure old Backs, and Breasts, and Pots with Pistols, or Carabines, for their two or three first Ranks, and Swords for the rest; themselves (and some Soldiers by their examples) having gotten besides their Pistols and Swords, a short Pole-Ax.

The Foot were divided into three Brigades; the first commanded by Sir *Nicholas Byron*, the second by Colonel *Harry Wentworth*, the third by Colonel *Richard Fielding*, Sir *Jacob Astley* being Major General, and commanding the Foot immediately under the General. For, though General *Ruthen*, who came to the King some few days before he left *Shrewsbury*, was made Field-Marshal, yet he kept wholly with the Horse to assist Prince *Rupert*: And Sir *Arthur Aston*, of whose Soldiery there was a very great esteem, was made Colonel-General of the Dragoons; which at that time, though consisting of two or three Regiments, were not above eight hundred, or a thousand at the most. Most of the Persons of Quality, except those whose attendance was near

B O O K the King's own Person, put themselves into the
VI. King's Troop of Guards, commanded by the Lord
Bernard Stewart; and made indeed so gallant a Body,
 that, upon very modest computation, the Estate,
 and Revenue of that single Troop, it was thought,
 might justly be valued at least equal to all theirs, who
 then Voted in both Houses, under the name of the
 Lords and Commons of Parliament, which made
 and maintained that War. Their Servants, under
 the command of Sir *William Killigrew*, made another
 full Troop, and always marched with their Lords
 and Masters.

The King
 having formed
 an Army,
 marches from
 Shrewsbury
 towards
 London.

In this equipage the King marched from *Shrewsbury*,
 on the 12th of *October* to *Bridgenorth*, never less
 baggage attending a Royal Army, there being not
 one Tent, and very few Waggon's belonging to the
 whole Train; having in his whole Army not one
 Officer of the Field who was a Papist, except Sir
Arthur Aston. if He were one; and very few common
 Soldiers of that Religion. However the Parliament,
 in all their Declarations, and their Clergy much
 more in their Sermons, assured the People, "that
 "the King's Army consisted only of Papists," whilst
 themselves entertained all of that Religion, that they
 could get; and very many, both Officers and Soldiers,
 of that Religion engaged with them; whether it was
 that they really believed, that That Army did desire
 Liberty of Conscience for all Religions, as some of
 the chief of them pretended, or that they desired to
 divide themselves for communication of Intelligence,
 and Interest. And here it is not fit to forget one
 particular, that when the Committee of Parliament

appointed to advance the service upon the Proposition for Plate, and Horses, in the County of *Suffolk*, sent word to the House of Commons, "that some Papists offered, to lend Money upon those Propositions, and desired advice whether they should accept of it," it was Answered, "that if they offered any considerable Sum, whereby it might be conceived to proceed from a real affection to the Parliament, and not out of Policy to bring themselves within their Protection, and so to excuse their Delinquency, it should be accepted of."

When the King was ready for his march, there was some difference of opinion which way he should take; many were of opinion that he should march towards *Worcester*, where the Earl of *Essex* still remained; those Counties were thought well affected to the King; where his Army would be supplied with provisions, and increased in Numbers; and that no time should be lost in coming to a battle; because the longer it was deferred, the stronger the Earl would grow, by the supplies which were every day sent to him from *London*; and he had store of Arms with him to supply all defects of that kind. However it was thought more counselable to march directly towards *London*, it being morally sure, that the Earl of *Essex* would put himself in their way. The King had much confidence in his Horse (his Nephew Prince *Rupert* being in the head of them) which were fleshed by their success at *Worcester*; and if he had made his march that way, he would have been entangled in the inclosures, where his Horse would have been less useful; whereas there were many open

B O O K grounds near the other way, much fitter for an
VI. Engagement. And so, about the middle of *October*, the King marched from *Shrewsbury*, and quartered that night at *Bridgenorth*, ten Miles from the other place, where there was a Rendezvous of the whole Army, which, appeared very cheerful; and thence to *Wolverhampton*, *Bromicham*, and *Killingworth*, a House of the King's, and a very noble Seat, where the King rested one day; where the Lord Chief Justice *Heath*, who was made Chief Justice for that purpose (*Bramston*, a Man of great Learning and Integrity, being, without any purpose of his disfavor, removed from that Office, because he stood bound by Recognizance to attend the Parliament, upon an accusation depending there against him) begun to sit upon a Commission of Oyer and Terminer, to attain the Earl of *Essex*, and many other Persons who were in Rebellion, of High-Treason.

Some days had passed without any notice of that Army; some reporting that it remained still at *Worcester*, others, that they were marched the direct way from thence towards *London*. But Intelligence came from *London*, " that very many Officers of Name, and Command in the Parliament-Army, had undergone that service with a full resolution to come to the King as soon as they were within any distance; and it was wished, that the King would send a Proclamation into the Army itself, and to offer pardon to all who would return to their obedience." A Proclamation was prepared accordingly, and all circumstances resolved upon, that a Herald should be sent to proclaim it in the Head of

the Earl's Army, when it should be drawn up in Battle. But that, and many other particulars, prepared and resolved upon, were forgotten, or omitted at the time appointed, which would not admit any of those formalities.

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When the whole Army marched together, there was quickly discovered an unhappy jealousy, and division between the principal Officers, which grew quickly into a perfect Faction between the Foot and the Horse. The Earl of *Lindsey* was General of the whole Army by his Commission, and thought very equal to it. But when Prince *Rupert* came to the King, which was after the Standard was set up, and received a Commission to be General of the Horse, which, all Men knew, was designed for him, there was a clause inserted into it, exempting him from receiving Orders from any Body but from the King himself; which, upon the matter, separated all the Horse from any dependance upon the General, and had other ill consequences in it: for when the King at midnight, being in his Bed, and receiving Intelligence of the Enemies motion, commanded the Lord *Falkland*, his principal Secretary of State, to direct Prince *Rupert*, what he should do, his Highness took it very ill, and expostulated with the Lord *Falkland*, for giving him Orders. He could not have directed his passion against any Man, who would feel or regard it less. He told him, "that it was his office to signify what the King bid him; which he should always do; and that his Highness, in neglecting it, neglected the King;" who did neither the Prince, nor his own service any good, by complying in the beginning with his

Faction begun
in the King's
Army.

B O O K rough Nature. But the King was so indulgent to him, VI. that he took his advice in all things relating to the Army, and upon the deliberation of their march, and the figure of the battle they resolved to fight in with the Enemy, he concurred entirely with Prince *Rupert's* advice, rejecting the opinion of the General, who preferred the order he had learned under Prince *Maurice*, and Prince *Harry*, with whom he had served at the same time, when the Earl of *Essex* and he, both of them, had Regiments. The reservedness of the Prince's Nature, and the little education he then had in Courts, made him unapt to make acquaintance with any of the Lords, who were thereby likewise discouraged from applying themselves to Him; whilst some Officers of the Horse were well pleased to observe that strangeness, and fomented it; believing Their credit would be the greater with the Prince, and desiring that no other Person should have any credit with the King. So the War was scarce begun, when there appeared such Faction and Designs in the Army, which wise Men looked upon as a very evil Prefage; and the inconveniencies, which flowed, from thence gave the King great trouble in a short time after.

The Earl of
Essex marches
after the King.

Within two days after the King marched from *Shrewsbury*, the Earl of *Essex* moved from *Worcester* to attend him, with an Army far Superior in Number to the King's; the Horse and Foot being completely armed, and the Men very well exercised, and the whole equipage (being supplied out of the King's Magazines) suitable to an Army set forth at the charge of a Kingdom. The Earl of *Bedford* had the

Name of General of the Horse, though that Command principally depended upon Sir *William Balfour*. Of the Nobility he had with him the Lords *Kimbolton*, *Saint-John*, *Wharton*, *Roberts*, and the Lords *Rochford*, and *Fielding* (whose Fathers, the Earls of *Dover*, and *Denbigh*, charged as Volunteers in the King's Guards of Horse) and many Gentlemen of Quality; but his Train was so very great, that he could move but in slow marches. So that the two Armies, though they were but twenty miles asunder, when they first set forth, and both marched the same way, gave not the least disquiet in ten days march to each other; and in truth, as it appeared afterwards, neither Army knew where the other was.

The King by quick marches, having seldom rested a day in any place, came, on *Saturday* the 22^d of *October*, to *Edgcot* a Village in *Northamptonshire*, within four Miles of *Banbury*, in which the Rebels had a Garrison. As soon as he came thither he called a Council of War, and having no Intelligence that the Earl of *Essex* was within any distance; it was resolved, "the King and the Army should rest in those Quarters the next day, only that Sir *Nicholas Byron* should march with his Brigade, and attempt the taking in of *Banbury*." With this Resolution the Council Broke up, and all Men went to their Quarters, which were at a great distance, without any apprehension of an Enemy. But that night, about twelve of the Clock, Prince *Rupert* sent the King word, "that the Body of the Rebels Army was within seven or eight Miles, and that the head Quarter was at a Village called *Keinton* on

B O O K “ the Edge of *Warwickshire*; and that it would be
 VI. “ in his Majesty’s power, if he thought fit, to fight
 “ a Battle the next day;” which his Majesty liked
 well, and therefore immediately despatched Orders
 to cross the design for *Banbury*, “ and that the
 “ whole Army should draw to a Rendezvous on the
 “ top of *Edge-Hill*,” which was a high Hill about
 two Miles from *Keinton*, where the head Quarter of
 the Earl was, which had a clear prospect of all that
 Valley.

The Battle
 of Keinton
 or Edgehill.

In the morning being *Sunday* the 23^d of *October*,
 when the Rebels were beginning their March (for
 they suspected not the King’s Forces to be near)
 they perceived a fair Body of Horſe on the top of
 that Hill, and eaſily concluded their march was not
 then to be far. It is certain they were exceedingly
 ſurprised, having never had any other confidence
 of their Men, than by the diſparity they concluded
 would be ſtill between Their Numbers, and the
 King’s, the which they found themſelves now de-
 ceived in. For two of their ſtrongeſt and beſt Regi-
 ments of Foot, and one Regiment of Horſe, was
 a day’s march behind with their Ammunition. So
 that, though they were ſtill ſuperior in Number,
 yet that difference was not ſo great as they promiſed
 themſelves. However it cannot be denied that the
 Earl, with great dexterity, performed whatſoever
 could be expected from a Wiſe General. He choſe
 that ground which beſt liked him. There was be-
 tween the Hill and the Town a fair Campaign, ſave
 that near the Town it was narrower, and on the
 right hand ſome Hedges, and Incloſures: ſo that

there he placed Musqueteers, and not above two Regiments of Horse, where the ground was narrowest; but on his left Wing he placed a Body of a thousand Horse, commanded by one *Ramsay* a Scotch man; the Reserve of Horse, which was a good one, was commanded by the Earl of *Bedford*, General of their Horse, and Sir *William Balfour* with him. The General Himself was with the Foot, which were ordered as much to advantage as might be. And in this posture they stood from eight of the Clock in the morning.

On the other side, though Prince *Rupert* was early in the morning with the greatest part of the Horse on the top of the Hill, which gave the Enemy the first Alarm of the necessity of fighting, yet the Foot were quartered at so great a distance, that many Regiments marched seven or eight Miles to the Rendezvous: so that it was past one of the Clock, before the King's Forces marched down the Hill; the General himself alighted at the head of his own Regiment of Foot, his Son the Lord *Willoughby* being next to him, with the King's Regiment of Guards, in which was the King's Standard carried by Sir *Edmund Verney*, Knight Marshal. The King's right Wing of Horse was Commanded by Prince *Rupert*, the left Wing by Mr. *Wilmot* Commissary General of the Horse, who was assisted by Sir *Arthur Aston* with most of the Dragoons, because that left Wing was opposed to the Enemies right, which had the shelter of some Hedges lined with Musqueteers: and the Reserve was committed to Sir *John Byron*, and consisted indeed only of his own Regi-

B O O K VI. ment. At the entrance into the Field, the King's Troop of Guard, either provoked by some unreasonable Scoffs among the Soldiery, or out of desire of Glory, or both, besought the King, "that he would give them leave to be absent that day from his Person, and to charge in the Front among the Horse, the which his Majesty consented to." They desired Prince *Rupert* "to give them that honor which belonged to them;" who accordingly assigned them the first place; which, though they performed their parts with admirable Courage, may well be reckoned among the oversights of that day.

It was near three of the Clock in the afternoon, before the Battle begun; which, at that time of the year, was so late, that some were of opinion, "that the business should be deferred till the next day." But against that there were many objections, "the King's Numbers could not increase, the Enemies might;" for they had not only their Garrisons, *Warwick*, *Coventry*, and *Banbury* within distance, but all that Country so devoted to them, that they had all Provisions brought to them, without the least trouble; whereas, on the other side, the People were so disaffected to the King's Party, that they had carried away, or hid all their Provisions, inso-much as there was neither Meat for Man, or Horse; and the very Smiths hid themselves, that they might not be compelled to shoe Horses, of which in those stony ways there was great need. This proceeded not from any radical malice, or disaffection to the King's Cause, or his Person, though it is true, that

circuit in which this Battle was fought, being very much in the Interest of the Lord *Say*, and the Lord *Brooke*, was the most eminently corrupted of any County in *England*; but by the reports, and insinuations which the other very diligent Party had wrought into the People's belief; "that the Cavaliers were of a fierce, bloody, and licentious disposition, and that they committed all manner of cruelty upon the Inhabitants of those places where they came, of which, robbery was the least;" so that the poor People thought there was no other way to preserve their goods, than by hiding them out of the way; which was confessed by them, when they found how much that information had wronged them, by making them so injurious to their Friends. And therefore where the Army rested a day they found much better entertainment at parting, than when they came; for it will not be denied, that there was no Person of Honor or Quality, who paid not punctually and exactly for what they had; and there was not the least violence or disorder among the Common Soldiers in their march, which escaped exemplary punishment, so that at *Bromicham*, a Town so generally wicked, that it had risen upon small Parties of the King's, and killed, or taken them Prisoners, and sent them to *Coventry*, declaring a more peremptory malice to his Majesty than any other place, two Soldiers were executed, for having taken some small trifle of no value out of a House, whose owner was at that time in the Rebels Army. So strict was the discipline in this Army; when the other, without control, practised all the

B O O K VI. dissoluteness imaginable. But the march was so fast, that the leaving a good Reputation behind them, was no Harbinger to provide for their better Reception in the next Quarters. So that their wants were so great, at the time when they came to *Edge-hill*, that there were very many Companies of the Common Soldiers, who had scarce eaten Bread in eight-and - forty hours before. The only way to cure this was a Victory; and therefore the King gave the Word, though it was late, the Enemy keeping their ground to receive him without Advancing at all.

In this hurry, there was an omission of somewhat, which the King intended to have executed before the beginning of the Battle. He had caused many Proclamations to be printed of Pardon to all those Soldiers who would lay down their Arms, which he resolved, as is said before, to have sent by a Herald to the Earl of *Essex*, and to have found ways to have scattered, and dispersed them in that Army, as soon as he understood they were within any distance of him. But all Men were now so much otherwise busied, that it was not soon enough remembered; and when it was, the Proclamations were not at hand; which, by that which follows, might probably have produced a good effect. For as the right Wing of the King's Horse advanced to Charge the left Wing, which was the gross of the Enemy's Horse, Sir *Faithful Fortescue* (who, having his Fortune and Interest in *Ireland*, was come out of that Kingdom to hasten supplies thither, and had a Troop of Horse raised for him for that Service, but as many other of those Forces were, so his Troop

was

was likewise disposed into that Army, and he was now Major to Sir *William Waller*; He) with his whole Troop advanced from the grofs of their Horfe, and discharging all their Pistols on the ground, within little more than Carabine-shot of his own Body, presented Himself, and his Troop to Prince *Rupert*; and immediately, with his Highness, charged the Enemy. Whether this sudden Accident, as it might very well, and the not knowing how many more were of the same mind, each Man looking upon his Companion with the same apprehension as upon the Enemy, or whether the terror of Prince *Rupert*, and the King's Horfe, or all together, with their own evil Consciences, wrought upon them, I know not, but that whole Wing, having unskillfully discharged their Carabines and Pistols into the Air, wheeled about, the King's Horfe charging in the flank and rear, and having thus absolutely routed them, pursued them flying; and had the execution of them above two Miles.

The left Wing, commanded by Mr. *Wilmot*, had as good success, though they were to charge in worse ground, among hedges, and through gaps and ditches, which were lined with Musqueteers. But Sir *Arthur Aston*, with great Courage and Dexterity, beat off those Musqueteers with his Dragoons; and then the right Wing of their Horfe was as easily routed and dispersed as their left, and those followed the Chase as furiously as the other. The Reserve seeing none of the Enemy's Horfe left, thought there was nothing more to be done, but to pursue those that fled; and could not be contained by their Com-

BOOK VI. manders; but with Spurs, and loose Rains followed the Chase, which their left Wing had led them. And by this means, whilst most Men thought the Victory unquestionable, the King was in danger of the same Fate which his Predecessor, *Henry the third*, had at the Battle of *Lewes* against his Barons; when his Son the Prince, having Routed their Horse, followed the Chase so far, that, before his return to the field, his Father was taken Prisoner; and so his Victory served only to make the Misfortunes of that day the more intolerable. For all the King's Horse having thus left the Field, many of them only following the Execution, others intending the Spoil in the Town of *Keinton*, where all the Baggage was, and the Earl of *Essex's* own Coach, which was taken, and brought away; their Reserve, Commanded by *Sir William Balfour*, moved up and down the Field in good Order, and marching towards the King's Foot pretended to be Friends, till observing no Horse to be in readiness to Charge them, they brake in upon the Foot, and did great Execution. Then was the General the Earl of *Lindsey*, in the head of his Regiment, being on Foot, shot in the Thigh; with which he fell, and was presently encompassed with the Enemy; and his Son, the Lord *Willoughby*, piously endeavouring the Rescue of his Father, taken Prisoner with him. Then was the Standard taken (*Sir Edmund Verney*, who bore it, being killed) but Rescued again by Captain *John Smith*, an Officer of the Lord *Grandison's* Regiment of Horse, and by him brought off. And if those Horse had bestirred themselves, they

might with little difficulty have destroyed, or taken B O O K
Prisoner the King Himself, and his two Sons, the VI,
Prince of *Wales* and the Duke of *York*, being with
fewer than one hundred Horse, and those without
Officer or Command, within half Musquet-shot of
that Body, before he suspected them to be Enemies.

When Prince *Rupert* returned from the Chase, he found this great alteration in the Field, and his Majesty himself with few Noblemen, and a small Retinue about him, and the hope of so glorious a Day quite vanished. For though most of the Officers of Horse were returned, and that part of the Field covered again with the loose Troops, yet they could not be persuaded, or drawn to Charge either the Enemies Reserve of Horse, which alone kept the Field, or the Body of their Foot, which only kept their ground. The Officers pretending, "that their Soldiers were so dispersed, that there were not ten of any Troop together; and the Soldiers, that their Horses were so tired, that they could not Charge." But the truth is, where many Soldiers of one Troop or Regiment were Rallied together, there the Officers were wanting; and where the Officers were ready, there the Soldiers were not together; and neither Officers, nor Soldiers desired to move without those who properly belonged to them. Things had now so ill an aspect, that many were of an opinion, that the King should leave the Field, though it was not easy to advise whicher he should have gone: which if he had done, he had left an absolute Victory to those, who even at this time thought themselves overcome. But the

B O O K King was positive against this advice, well knowing,
VI. that as that Army was raised by his Person and Presence only, so it could by no other means be kept together; and he thought it Unprincely, to forsake Them who had forsaken all they had to serve Him: Besides, he observed the other side looked not as if they thought themselves Conquerors; for that Reserve, which did so much mischief before, since the return of his Horse, betook themselves to a fixed station between their Foot, which at best could but be thought to stand their ground, which two Brigades of the King's did with equal Courage, and gave equal Vollies; and therefore he tried all possible ways to get the Horse to charge again; easily discerning, by some little attempts which were made, what a notable impression a brisk one would have made upon the Enemy. And when he saw it was not to be done, he was content with their only standing still. Without doubt if either Party had known the constitution of the other, they had not parted so fairly; and, very probably, which soever had made a bold offer, had compassed his end upon his Enemy. This made many believe, though the Horse vaunted themselves aloud to have done Their part, that the good fortune of the first part of the day, which well managed would have secured the rest, was to be imputed rather to their Enemy's want of Courage, than to their own Virtue (which after so great a Victory, could not so soon have forsaken them) and to the sudden and unexpected revolt of Sir *Faithful Fortescue* with a whole Troop, no doubt much to the consternation

of those he left; though they had not so good Fortune as they deserved; for by the negligence of not throwing away their Orange-Tawny Scarfs, which they all wore as the Earl of *Essex's* colors, and being immediately engaged in the charge, many of them, not fewer than seventeen or eighteen, were suddenly killed by those to whom they joined themselves.

In this doubt of all sides, the Night, the Common friend to wearied and dismayed Armies, parted them; and then the King caused his Cannon, which were nearest the Enemies, to be drawn off; and with his whole Forces himself spent the Night in the Field, by such a fire, as could be made of the little wood, and bushes which grew thereabouts, unresolved what to do the next Morning; many reporting, "that the Enemy was gone;" but when the Day appeared, the contrary was discovered; for then they were seen standing in the same posture, and place in which they Fought, from whence the Earl of *Essex*, wisely never suffered them to stir all that Night; presuming reasonably, that if they were drawn off never so little from that place, their Numbers would lessen, and that many would Run away; and therefore he caused all manner of Provisions, with which the Country supplied him plentifully, to be brought thither to them for their refreshment, and reposed himself with them in the place; besides, that Night he received a great addition of strength, not only by Rallying those Horse, and Foot, which had Run out of the Field in the Battle, but by the arrival of Colonel *Hambden*, and

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Colonel *Grantham*, with two thousand fresh Foot (which were reckoned among the best of the Army) and five hundred Horse, which marched a Day behind the Army for the Guard of their Ammunition, and a great part of their Train, not supposing there would have been any Action that would have required their presence. All the advantage this seasonable Recruit brought them, was to give their old Men so much Courage as to keep the Field, which it was otherwise believed, they would hardly have been persuaded to have done. In the other Army, after a very cold Night spent in the Field, without any refreshment of Victual, or Provision for the Soldiers (for the Country was so disaffected, that it not only not sent in Provisions, but Soldiers, who straggled into the Villages for relief, were knocked in the head by the Common People) The King found his Troops very thin; for though by Conference with the Officers, he might reasonably conclude, that there were not many slain in the Battle, yet a third part of his Foot were not upon the place, and of the Horse many missing; and they that were in the Field were so tired with duty, and weakened with want of Meat, and shrunk up with the cruel Cold of the Night (for it was a terrible Frost, and there was no shelter of either Tree or Hedge) that though they had reason to believe, by the standing still of the Enemy, whilst a small Party of the King's Horse, in the morning, took away four Pieces of their Cannon very near them, that any offer towards a Charge, or but Marching towards them, would have made a notable impres-

sion in them, yet there was so visible an averfeness from it in most Officers, as well as Soldiers, that the King thought not fit to make the attempt; but contented himself to keep his Men in Order, the Body of Horse facing the Enemy upon the Field where they had Fought.

Towards Noon the King Resolved to try that expedient, which was prepared for the day before; and sent Sir *William le Neve*, Clarendieux King at Arms, to the Enemy, with his Proclamation of Pardon to such as would lay down Arms; believing, though he expected then little benefit by the Proclamation, that he should, by that means, receive some advertisement of the condition of the Army, and what Prisoners they had taken (for many Persons of Command and Quality were wanting) giving him order likewise to desire to speak with the Earl of *Lindsey*, who was known to be in their hands. Before Sir *William* came to the Army, he was received by the out Guards, and Conducted, with strictness (that he might say, or publish nothing among the Soldiers) to the Earl of *Essex*, who, when he offered to read the Proclamation aloud, and to deliver the effect of it, that he might be heard by those who were present, rebuked him, with some roughness, and charged him, "as he loved his life, not to presume to speak a word to the Soldiers;" and after some few questions, sent him presently back well guarded through the Army, without any answer at all. At his return he had so great and feeling a sense of the danger he had passed, that he made little Observation of the Posture or Numbers of the Enemy.

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Only he seemed to have seen, or apprehended so much trouble and disorder in the faces of the Earl of *Essex*, and the principal Officers about him, and so much dejection in the Common Soldiers, that they looked like Men who had no farther Ambition, than to keep what they had left. He brought word of the death of the Earl of *Lindsey*; who, being carried out of the Field a Prisoner, into a Barn of the next Village, for want of a Surgeon, and such Accommodations as were necessary, within fews hours died with the loss of blood, his wound not being otherwise Mortal or dangerous. This was imputed to the Inhumanity of the Earl of *Essex*, as if he had purposely neglected, or inhibited the performing any necessary Offices to him, out of the Insolence of his Nature, and in Revenge of some former unkindnesses, which had passed between them. But, I presume, it may be with more justice attributed to the hurry, and distraction of that season, when, being so unsecure of their Friends, they had no thoughts vacant for their Enemies. For it is not to be denied at the time when the Earl of *Lindsey* was taken Prisoner, the Earl of *Essex* thought himself in more danger; and among his faults want of Civility and Courtesy was none.

The Number of the slain, by the Testimony of the Ministers, and others of the next Parish, who took care of the Burying of the Dead, and which was the only Computation that could be made, amounted to above five thousand; whereof two parts were conceived to be of those of the Parliament-Party, and not above a third part of the King's.

Indeed the loss of both sides was so great, and so little of Triumph appeared in either, that the Victory could scarce be imputed to the One or the Other. Yet the King's keeping the Field, and having the Spoil of it, by which many Persons of Quality, who had lain wounded in the Field were preserved, his pursuing afterwards the same design he had when he was diverted to the Battle, and succeeding in it (which shall be touched anon) were greater Ensigns of Victory on that side, than taking the General Prisoner, and the taking the Standard, which was likewise recovered, were on the Other. Of the King's the principal Persons, who were lost, were the Earl of *Lindsey*, General of the Army, the Lord *Stewart*, Lord *Aubigny* Son to the Duke of *Lenox*, and Brother to the then Duke of *Richmond* and *Lenox*, Sir *Edmund Verney*, Knight Marshal of the King's Horse, and Standard-Bearer, and some others of less Name, though of great Virtue, and good Quality.

The Earl of *Lindsey* was a Man of very noble Extraction, and Inherited a great Fortune from his Ancestors; which, though he did not manage with so great care, as if he desired much to improve, yet he left it in a very fair Condition to his Family, which more intended the increase of it. He was a Man of great Honor, and spent his Youth and Vigor of his Age in Military Actions and Commands abroad; and albeit he indulged to himself great liberties of Life, yet he still preserved a very good Reputation with all Men, and a very great Interest in his Country, as appeared by the Supplies he, and his Son, brought to the King's Army; the several

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A Character
of the Earl of
Lindsey,
the King's
General.

B O O K Companies of his own Regiment of Foot, being
 VI. Commanded by the principal Knights and Gentlemen of *Lincolnshire*, who engaged themselves in the Service principally out of their Personal Affection to Him. He was of a very generous Nature, and punctual in what he undertook, and in exacting what was due to him; which made him bear that restriction so heavily, which was put upon him by the Commission granted to Prince *Rupert*, and by the King's preferring the Prince's Opinion, in all matters relating to the War before His. Nor did he conceal his Resentment: the day before the Battle, he said to some friends, with whom he had used freedom, "that he did not look upon himself as General; and
 " therefore he was resolved, when the day of Battle
 " should come, that he would be in the head of his
 " Regiment as a private Colonel, where he would
 " die." He was carried out of the Field to the next Village, and if he could then have procured Surgeons, it was thought his wound would not have proved Mortal. And as soon as the other Army was composed by the coming on of the Night, the Earl of *Essex*, about midnight, sent Sir *William Balfour*, and some other Officers to see him, and to offer him all offices, and meant himself to have visited him. They found him upon a little straw in a poor House, where they had laid him in his Blood, which had run from him in great abundance, no Surgeon having been yet with him, only he had great vivacity in his looks; and told them, "he was sorry to see
 " so many Gentlemen, some whereof were his old
 " Friends, engaged in so foul a Rebellion;" and

principally directed his discourse to Sir *William Bal-
four*, whom he put in mind of "the great obligations
" he had to the King; how much his Majesty had
" disoblged the whole *English* Nation by putting
" him into the Command of the Tower, and that it
" was the most odious ingratitude in Him to make
" him that return." He wished them to tell my
Lord *Effex*, "that he ought to cast himself at the
" King's feet to beg his pardon. which if he did not
" speedily do, his Memory would be odious to the
" Nation;" and continued this kind of discourse
with so much vehemence, that the Officers by de-
grees withdrew themselves, and prevented the Visit
the Earl of *Effex* intended him, who only sent the
best Surgeons to him, but in the very opening of his
wounds he died before the morning, only upon the
loss of Blood. He had very many Friends, and very
few Enemies; and died generally lamented.

The Lord *Aubigny* was a Gentleman of great ho-
pes, of a gentle and winning disposition, and of
very clear Courage: he was killed in the first charge
with the Horse; where, there being so little resist-
ance, gave occasion to suspect that it was done by
his own Lieutenant, who was a *Dutch* man, and
had not been so punctual in his duty, but that he
received some reprehension from his Captain, which
he murmured at. His Body was brought off, and
buried at *Christ Church* in *Oxford*; his two younger
Brothers, the Lord *John* and the Lord *Bernard Stew-
art*, were in the same Battle, and were afterwards
both killed in the War, and his only Son is now Duke
of *Richmond*. Sir *Edmund Verney* hath been men-

B O O K tioned before; he was a Person of great Honor and
VI. Courage, and lost his Life in that charge, when *Balfour*, with that Reserve of Horse, which had been so long undiscerned, broke into those Regiments; but his body was not found.

On the Parliament-Party that perished, the Lord *Saint-John* of *Bletnezo*, and *Charles Essex*, were of the best Quality. The last had been bred up a Page under the Earl of *Essex*, who afterwards, at his charge, preferred him to a Command in *Holland*; where he lived with very good reputation, and preserved the credit of his decayed Family; And as soon as the Earl unfortunately accepted this Command, he thought his gratitude obliged him to run the fortune of his Patron, and out of pure kindness to the Person of the Earl, as many other Gentlemen did, engaged himself against the King without any malice or Rebellion in his heart towards the Crown. He had the Command of a Regiment of Foot, and was esteemed the best and most expert Officer of the Army, and was killed by a Musquet-shot in the beginning of the Battle. The Lord *Saint-John* was eldest Son to the Earl of *Bullingbrooke*, and got himself so well beloved by the reputation of his Courtesy and Civility, which he expressed towards all Men, that though his parts of understanding were very ordinary at best, and his course of life licentious and very much depraved, he got credit enough, by engaging the principal Gentlemen of *Bedfordshire* and *Hertfordshire* to be bound for him, to contract a debt of fifty or threescore thousand pounds; for the payment whereof the fortune of the Family was not

engaged, nor in his power to engage. So that the Clamor of his debts growing importunate, some years before the Rebellion, he left the Kingdom and fled into *France*; leaving his vast debt to be paid by his Sureties, to the utter ruin of many Families, and the notable impairing of others. In the beginning of the Parliament, the King was prevailed with to call him to the House of Peers, his Father being then alive, upon an assurance "that by his presence and liberty, which could by no other way be secured, means would be found out to pay his debts, and free so many worthy Persons from their engagements: Besides that the times being like to be troublesome the King might be sure of a faithful Servant, who would always advance his service in that House." But the King had very ill fortune in conferring those graces, nor was his service more passionately, and insolently opposed by any Men in that House than by those, who upon those professions were advanced by him from the condition of Commons. And this Gentleman, from the first hour of his sitting in that House by the King's so extraordinary grace, was never known to concur in any one Vote for the King's Service, that received any opposition: and, as soon as it was in his power, he received a Commission with the first to Command a Troop of Horse against him, in which he behaved himself so ill, that he received some wounds in running away; and being taken Prisoner died before the next morning, without any other signs of repentance, than the canting words, "that he did not intend to be against the King, but wished him all

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"happiness:" so great an influence the first seeds of his birth had upon his Nature, that how long soever they were concealed, and seemed even buried in a very different breeding and conversation, they sprung up, and bore the same fruit upon the first occasion. And it was an observation of that time, that the Men of most licentious lives, who appeared to be without any sense of Religion, or reverence to virtue, and the most unrestrained by any obligations of conscience, betook themselves to that Party, and pretended an impulse of Religion out of fear of Popery; and on the other side, very many Persons of Quality, both of the Clergy and Laity, who had suffered under the imputation of Puritanism, and did very much dislike the proceedings of the Court, and opposed them upon all occasions, were yet so much scandalized at the very approaches to Rebellion, that they renounced all their old Friends, and applied themselves with great Resolution, Courage, and Constancy to the King's Service, and continued in it to the end, with all the disadvantages it was liable to.

Prisoners taken by the Enemy were, the Lord *Willoughby*, hastily and piously endeavouring the rescue of his Father; Sir *Thomas Lunsford*, and Sir *Edward Stradling*, both Colonels; and Sir *William Vavasour*, who commanded the King's Regiment of Guard under the Lord *Willoughby*; and some other inferior Commanders. There were hurt, Sir *Jacob Astley*, and Sir *Nicholas Byron*, and more dangerously Colonel *Charles Gerrard*, who, being shot in the thigh, was brought off the field without any hopes

of life, but recovered to act a great part afterwards in the War; Sir *George Strode*, and some other Gentlemen who served among the Foot; for of the Horse there was not an Officer of Name, who received a Wound, the Lord *Aubigny* only excepted; so little resistance did that part of the Enemy make. Of the Rebels there were slain, besides the Lord *Saint-John*, Colonel *Charles Essex*, the Soldier of whom they had the best opinion, and who had always, till this last Action, preserved a good reputation in the world, which was now the worse, over and above the Guilt of Rebellion, by his having sworn to the Queen of *Bohemia*, by whose intercession he procured leave from the Prince of *Orange* to go into *England*, "that he would never serve against the King:" And many others of obscure Names, though Officers of good Command. There were a good Number of their Officers, especially of Horse, taken Prisoners, but (save that some of them were Parliament-Men) of mean Quality in the world, except only Sir *William Essex* the Father of the Colonel, whose wants, from having wasted a very great Fortune, and his Son's invitation, led him into that Company; where he was a private Captain of his Regiment.

When the Armies had thus only looked one upon another, the whole day, and it being discerned that the Enemy had drawn off his Carriages, the King directed all his Army to retire into their old Quarters, presuming (as it proved) that many of those who were wanting would be found there. And so himself with his two Sons went to *Edgecot*, where he lay the night before the Battle, resolving to rest the next day, both for the refreshing his wearied, and even

B O O K tired men, and to be informed of the motion and condition of the Enemy, upon which some Troops of the King's Horse attended. The Earl of *Essex* retired with His to *Warwick-Castle*, whither he had sent all his Prisoners; so that, on the *Tuesday* morning, the King was informed, that the Enemy was gone, and that some of his Horse had attended the rear of the Enemy almost to *Warwick*, and that they had left many of their Carriages, and very many of their wounded Soldiers at the Village next to the Field; by which it appeared that their remove was in haste, and not without apprehension.

After the Horse had marched almost to *Warwick*, and found the Coast clear from the Enemy, they returned to the Field to view the dead Bodies, many going to inquire after their Friends who were missing, where they found many not yet dead of their wounds, but lying stripped among the dead; among whom, with others, young Mr. *Scroop* brought off his Father, Sir *Gervas Scroop*; who, being an old Gentleman of great fortune in *Lincolnshire*, had raised a Foot Company among his Tenants, and brought them into the Earl of *Lindsey's* Regiment out of devotion and respect to his Lordship, as well as duty to the King; and had, about the time that the General was taken, fallen with sixteen wounds in his body and head; and had lain stripped among the dead, from that time, which was about three in the afternoon on *Sunday*, all that cold night, all *Monday*, and *Monday* night, and till *Tuesday* evening, for it was so late before his Son found him; whom with great piety he carried to a warm lodging, and afterwards to *Oxford*; where he wonder-
fully

fully recovered. The next morning after, being *Wednesday*, there was another Gentleman, one *Pellingham*, of an ancient extraction, and the only Son of his Father, found among the dead, and brought off by his Friends with twenty wounds; who, after ten days, died at *Oxford*, by the negligence of his Surgeons, who left a wound in his thigh, of itself not dangerous, undiscerned, and so by festering destroyed a body very hopefully recovered of those which were only thought Mortal. The Surgeons were of opinion, that both these Gentlemen owed their lives to the inhumanity of those who stripped them, and to the coldness of the nights, which stopped their blood, better than all their skill and Medicaments could have done, and that if they had been brought off within any reasonable distance of time after their wounds, they had undoubtedly perished.

On *Wednesday* morning, the King drew his Army to a Rendezvous, where he found his Numbers greater than he expected; for, in the night after the Battle, very many of the Common-Soldiers out of cold, and hunger, had found their old Quarters. So that it was really believed upon this view, when this little rest had recovered a strange cheerfulness into all Men, that there were not in that Battle lost above three hundred Men at most. There the King declared General *Ruthen* General of his Army in the place of the Earl of *Lindsey*; and then marched to *Ayno*, a little Village two miles distant from *Banbury*, of which his Majesty that day took a View, and meant to attempt it the next day following. There was at that time in *Banbury-Castle* a Regiment of eight

B O O K VI. hundred Foot, and a Troop of Horse, which, with Spirits proportionable, had been enough to have kept so strong a place from an Army better prepared to have assaulted it, than the King's then was, and at a season of the year more commodious for a Siege. And therefore many were of opinion, that the King should have marched by it, without taking notice of it, and that the engaging before it might prove very prejudicial to him. That which prevailed with him to stay there, besides the Courage of his Soldiers, who had again recovered their appetite to Action, was that he could not well resolve whither to go; for till he was informed what the Earl of *Essex* did, he knew not how to direct his march; and if the Enemy advanced upon him, he could not Fight in a place of more advantage. And therefore, having sent a Trumpet to summon the Castle, and having first taken the Lord *Say's* House at *Broughton*, where there was some show of resistance, and in it a Troop of Horse, and some good Arms, the Cannon were planted against the Castle, and the Army drawn out before it; but, upon the first shot made, the Castle sent to treat, and upon leave to go away without their Arms, they fairly and kindly delivered the place; and half the Common-Soldiers at the least readily took conditions, and put themselves into the King's Army, the rest of the Arms came very seasonably to supply many Soldiers of every Regiment, who either never had any before, or had lost them at the Battle.

This last success declared where the Victory was before at *Edge-hill*; for, though the routing of their

Horse, the having killed more upon the place, and taken more Prisoners, the number of the Colors won from the Enemy (which were near forty in number) without the loss of above three or four, and lastly the taking four pieces of their Cannon the next morning after the Battle, were so many Arguments that the Victory inclined to the King: On the other side, the loss of the General himself, and so many Men of Name either killed or taken Prisoners, who were generally known over the Kingdom (whereas, besides the Lord *Saint John*, and Colonel *Essex*, the names of the rest of that Party were so obscure, that neither the one side seemed to be gainers by having taken or killed them, nor the other side to be losers by being without them) the having kept the Field last, were sufficient Testimonies at the least that they were not overcome. But now the taking of *Banbury*, which was the more signal, by the circumstances of that part of the Army's being, before the Battle, designed for that service, then recalled to the Field, and after that Field fought, and the Retreat of the Enemy, the Re-advancing upon it, and taking it, was so undeniable an Argument that the Earl of *Essex* was more broken and scattered than at first he appeared to be, that the King's Army was looked upon as Victorious. A Garrison was put into *Banbury*, and the Command thereof committed to the Earl of *Norhampton*, and then the King marched to his own House at *Woodstock*; and the next day with the whole Army to *Oxford*, which was the only City of *England*, that he could say was entirely at his devotion; where he was received by the University, to

B O O K whom the integrity and fidelity of that place is to be
VI. imputed, with all joy and acclamation.

The condition
of the Earl of
Essex's Army
after the Fight. The Earl of *Essex* continued still at *Warwick*, repairing his broken Regiments and Troops, which every day lessened and impaired; for the number of his slain Men was greater than it was reported to be, there being very many killed in the chase, and many who died of their wounds after they were carried off, and, of those, who run away in the beginning, more staid away than returned; and which was more, they who run farthest and fastest told such lamentable Stories of the defeat, and many of them showed such hurts, that the terror thereof was even ready to make the People revolt to their Allegiance in all places. Many of those who had stood their ground, and behaved themselves well in the Battle, either with remorse of Conscience, horror of what they had done, and seen, or weariness of the duty and danger, withdrew themselves from their Colors, and some from their Commands. And it is certain many engaged themselves first in that service, out of an opinion, that an Army would procure a Peace without Fighting; others out of a desire to serve the King, and resolving to go away themselves, and to carry others with them, as soon as they should find themselves within a secure distance to do it; both these being, contrary to their expectation, brought to Fight, the latter, not knowing how to get to the King's Army in the Battle; discharged themselves of the Service, as soon as they came to *Warwick*; some with leave, and some without. But that which no doubt most troubled his Excellency was the temper,

and constitutions of his new Masters; who, he knew, expected no less from him than a Victory complete, by his bringing the Person of the King alive or dead to them; and would consider what was now fallen out, as it was so much less than they looked for, not as it was more than any body else could have done for them. However, he gave them a glorious account of what had passed, and made as if his stay at *Warwick* were rather to receive new Orders and Commands from them, than out of any weakness or inability to pursue the old, and that he attended the King's motions as well as if he had been within seven miles of him.

It is certain the consternation was very great at *London*, and in the two Houses, from the time that they heard, that the King marched from *Shrewsbury* with a formed Army, and that he was resolved to Fight, as soon as he could meet with theirs. However they endeavoured to keep up confidently the ridiculous opinion among the Common-People, that the King did not Command, but was carried about in that Army of the Cavaliers, and was desirous to escape from them; which they hoped the Earl of *Essex* would give him opportunity to do. The first news they heard of the Armies being engaged, was by those who fled upon the first charge; who made marvellous haste from the place of danger, and thought not themselves safe, till they were gotten out of any possible distance of being pursued. It is certain, though it was past two of the Clock before the Battle begun, many of the Soldiers, and some Commanders of no mean Name, were at *St. Albans*, which was

BOOK VI. near thirty miles from the Field, before it was dark. These Men, as all Runaways do for their own excuse, reported all for lost, and the King' Army to be so terrible, that it could not be encountered. Some of them, that they might not be thought to come away before there was cause, or whilst there was any hope, reported the progress of the Battle, and presented all those lamentable things, and the circumstances by which every part of the Army was defeated, which their terrified fancies had suggested to them whilst they run away; some had seen the Earl of *Essex* slain, and heard his dying words; "That every one should shift for himself, for all resistance was to no purpose:" So that the whole City was, the *Monday*, full of the defeat; and though there was an express, from the Earl of *Essex* himself, of the contrary, there was not Courage enough left to believe it, and every hour produced somewhat to contradict the reports of the last *Monday* in the afternoon, the Earl of *Holland* produced a Letter in the House of Peers, which was written the night before by the Earl of *Essex*, in which all particulars of the day were set down, and "the impression which had in the beginning been made upon his Horse, but that the conclusion was prosperous." Whilst this was reading, and every Man greedily digesting the good news, the Lord *Hylings*, who had a Command of Horse in the service, entered the House with frightened and ghastly looks, and positively declared "all to be lost, against whatsoever they believed or flattered themselves with." And though it was evident enough that he had run away from

the beginning, and only lost his way thither, most Men looked upon him as the last Messenger, and even shut their ears against any possible comfort; so that without doubt very many, in the horror and consternation of eight-and-forty hours, paid and underwent a full penance and mortification for the hopes, and insolence of three Months before. At the last, on *Wednesday* morning, the Lord *Wharton*, and Mr. *William Strode*, the one a Member of the House of Lords, the other of the Commons, arrived from the Army, and made so full a relation of the Battle, "of the great Numbers slain on the King's" part, without any considerable loss on Their side, "of the miserable and weak condition the King's" Army was in, and of the Earl of *Essex's* resolution "to pursue him," That they were not now content to be savers, but Voted "that their Army had the" Victory;" and appointed a day for a solemn Thanksgiving to God for the same; and that so great a joy might not be enjoyed only within those Walls, they appointed those two trusty Messengers to communicate the whole relation with all circumstances to the City; which was convened together at the *Guild-Hall* to receive the same. But by this time, so many Persons, who were present at the Action, came to the Town of both sides (for there was yet a free intercourse with all Quarters) and some discourses were published, how little either of these two Messengers had seen themselves of that day's business, that the City seemed not so much exalted at their Relations, as the Houses had been; the King's taking *Banbury*, and marching afterwards to

B O O K *Oxford*. and the reports from those parts of his power,
 VI. with the Earl of *Essex*'s lying still at *Warwick* gave great Argument of discourse ; which grew the greater by the commitment of several Persons, for reporting "that the King had the better of the Field ;" which Men thought would not have been, if the success had been contrary ; and therefore there was nothing so generally spoken of, or wished for, as Peace.

They who were really well affected to the King, and from the beginning opposed all the extravagancies, for of such there were many in both Houses, who could not yet find in their hearts to leave the company, spake now aloud, "that a humble Address to the King for the removal of all misunderstandings, was both in Duty necessary, and in Policy convenient." The half-hearted, and half-witted People, which made much the Major part of both Houses, plainly discerned there must be a War, and that the King at least would be able to make resistance, which they had been promised he could not do, and so were equally passionate to make any overtures for accommodation. They only who had contrived the mischief, and already had digested a full change and alteration of Government, and knew well, that all their Arts would be discovered, and their Persons odious, though they might be secured, violently opposed all motions of this kind. These Men pressed earnestly "to send an express to their Brethren of *Scotland*, to invite, and "conjure them to come to their Assistance, and to "leave no way unthought of, for suppressing, and

“ totally destroying all those who had presumed to
“ side with the King ” This overture of calling the
Scots in again was as Unpopular a thing, as could
be mentioned, besides that it implied a great, and
absolute diffidence in their own strength, and an
acknowledgment that the People of *England* stood
not so generally affected to their desires, which they
had hitherto published, and urged, as the best Ar-
gument to justify those desires. Therefore the wise
Managers of that Party, by whose conduct they had
been principally governed, seemed fully to concur
with those who desired Peace, “ and to send a
“ humble Address to the King, which they con-
“ fessed to be due from them as Subjects, and the
“ only way to procure happiness for the Kingdom.”
And having hereby rendered themselves gracious,
and gained credit, they advised them “ so to endea-
“ your Peace, that they might not be disappointed
“ of it,” and wished them “ to consider that the
“ King’s Party were high upon the success of having
“ an Army (of which they had reasonably before
“ despaired) though not upon any thing that Army
“ had yet done. That it was apparent, the King had
“ Ministers stirring for him in the North, and in the
“ West, though hitherto with little effect; and there-
“ fore if they should make such an Application for
“ Peace, as might imply the giving over the
“ thoughts of War, they must expect such a Peace,
“ as the mercy of those whom they had provoked
“ would consent to. But if they would steadily
“ pursue those Counsels as would make their strength
“ formidable, they might then expect such mo-

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“ derate conditions, as they might, with their Own,
 “ and the Kingdom’s Safety, securely submit to.
 “ That therefore the Proposition of sending into
 “ *Scotland* was very seasonable; not that it could be
 “ hoped, or was desired, that they should bring
 “ an Army into *England*, of which there was not
 “ like to be any need; but that That Kingdom might
 “ make such a Declaration of their Affections, and
 “ readiness to assist the Parliament, that the King
 “ might look upon them with the more considera-
 “ tion, as a Body not easily to be oppressed, if he
 “ should insist upon too high Conditions.

By this Artifice, whilst they who pressed a Treaty thought, that That being once consented to, a Peace would inevitably be concluded, the same day that a Committee was appointed “ to prepare Heads of a
 “ humble Address unto his Majesty, for composing
 “ the present Differences, and Distractions, and
 “ settling the Peace of the Kingdom (which was a great condescension) they made no scruple to declare, “ that the preparations of Forces, and all
 “ other necessary means for defence, should be prosecuted with all Vigor;” and thereupon required
 “ all those Officers and Soldiers, who had left their
 “ General, of which the Town was then full, upon
 “ pain of Death, to return to him;” and for his better recruit, solemnly declared, “ that in such times
 “ of Common danger and necessity, the Interest of
 “ Private Persons, ought to give way to the Public;
 “ and therefore they ordained, that such Apprentices,
 “ as would be Listed to serve as Soldiers for
 “ the defence of the Kingdom, the Parliament, and

Apprentices
 invited by the
 Parliament to
 take Arms.

“ City (with their other usual expressions of Religion, and the King's Person) their Sureties, and such as stood engaged for them, should be secured against their Masters; and that their Masters should receive them again, at the end of their Service, without imputing any loss of time to them, but the same should be reckoned as well spent, according to their Indentures, as if they had been still in their Shops.” And by this means many Children were engaged in that Service, not only against the Consent, but against the Persons of their Fathers, and the Earl received a notable supply thereby.

Then, in return for their Consent that a formal, and perfunctory Message should be sent to his Majesty, whereby they thought a Treaty would be entered upon, they procured at the same time, and as an Expedient for Peace, this material and full Declaration of both Houses to the Subjects of *Scotland*, which they caused with all expedition to be sent into that Kingdom.

“ We the Lords and Commons, assembled in the Parliament of *England*, considering with what Wisdom, and public Affection, Our brethren of the Kingdom of *Scotland* did concur with the endeavours of this Parliament, and the desires of the whole Kingdom in procuring, and establishing a firm Peace and Amity between the two Nations, and how lovingly they have since invited Us to a nearer, and higher degree of Union in matters concerning Religion, and Church-Government, which We have most willingly and affectionately

The two Houses Declaration to the Subjects of *Scotland*.

BOOK VI. “ embraced, and intend to pursue, cannot doubt but
 “ they will, with as much forwardness and affection,
 “ concur with Us in settling Peace in this Kingdom,
 “ and preserving it in their Own; that so We may
 “ mutually reap the benefit of that Amity and
 “ Alliance, so happily made, and strongly con-
 “ firmed betwixt the two Nations. Wherefore, as
 “ We did about a year since, in the first appearance
 “ of trouble then beginning among them, actually
 “ declare, that in our sense and apprehension of the
 “ National Alliance betwixt Us, We were thereby
 “ bound to apply the Authority of Parliament, and
 “ Power of this Kingdom to the preservation, and
 “ maintenance of their Peace: And, seeing now
 “ that the troubles of this Kingdom are grown to a
 “ greater height, and the subtle practices of the
 “ Common Enemies of the Religion, and Liberty
 “ of both Nations, do appear with more evident
 “ strength, and danger than they did at that time,
 “ We hold it necessary to declare, that, in our
 “ judgment, the same obligation lies upon Our
 “ Brethren, by the afore-mentioned Act, with the
 “ Power and Force of that Kingdom, to assist Us in
 “ repressing those among Us, who are now in Arms,
 “ and make War, not only without consent of Par-
 “ liament, but even against the Parliament, and for
 “ the destruction thereof.
 “ Wherefore We have thought good to make
 “ known unto Our Brethren, that his Majesty hath
 “ given Commission to divers eminent and known
 “ Papists, to raise Forces, and to compose an Army
 “ in the North, and other parts of this Kingdom,

“ which is to join with divers Foreign Forces,
“ intended to be transported from beyond the Seas,
“ for the destruction of this Parliament, and of the
“ Religion, and Liberty of the Kingdom: and that
“ the principal part of the Clergy and their adher-
“ ents, have likewise invited his Majesty to raise
“ another Army, which, in his own Person, he
“ doth Conduct against the Parliament, and the
“ City of *London*, Plundering and Robbing sundry
“ well affected Towns within their power; and in
“ prosecution of their malice, they were so pre-
“ sumptuous, and predominant of his Majesty’s
“ Resolutions, that they forbear not those Outrages
“ in places to which his Majesty hath given his
“ Royal Word and Protection; a great cause and
“ incentive of which malice, proceeds from the
“ design they have to hinder the Reformation of
“ Ecclesiastical Government in this Kingdom, so
“ much longed for by all the true Lovers of the
“ Protestant Religion.

“ And hereupon We farther desire Our Brethren
“ of the Nation of *Scotland*, to raise such Forces as
“ they shall think sufficient for securing the Peace
“ of their own Borders, against the ill affected Per-
“ sons there, as likewise to assist Us in suppressing
“ the Army of Papists, and Foreigners; which, as
“ We expect, will shortly be on foot here, and if
“ they be not timely prevented may prove as mis-
“ chievous, and destructive to that Kingdom, as to
“ ourselves. And though We seek nothing from
“ his Majesty that may diminish his just Authority,
“ or Honor, and have, by many humble Petitions,

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“endeavoured to put an end to this unnatural War
 “and Combustion in the Kingdom, and to procure
 “his Majesty’s Protection, and Security for our
 “Religion, Liberty, and Persons (according to that
 “great Trust which his Majesty is bound to by the
 “Laws of the Land) and shall still continue to renew
 “our Petitions in that kind; yet, to our great grief,
 “We see the Papistical and Malignant Council so
 “prevalent with his Majesty, and his Person so
 “engaged to their power, that We have little hope
 “or better success of our Petitions than We formerly
 “had; and are thereby necessitated to stand
 “upon our just Defence, and to seek this speedy
 “and powerful Assistance of Our Brethren of *Scotland*,
 “according to that Act agreed upon in the
 “Parliament of both Kingdoms, the Common Duty
 “of Christianity, and the particular Interests of
 “their own Kingdom: To which We hope God
 “will give such a Blessing, that it may produce
 “the preservation of Religion, the Honor, Safety,
 “and Peace of his Majesty, and all his Subjects,
 “and a more strict conjunction of the Counsels,
 “Designs, and Endeavours of both Nations, for
 “the comfort and relief of the Reformed Churches
 “beyond Sea.”

The condition, and inclinations of the Kingdom of Scotland at that time.

It will not be here unseasonable to take some short Survey of the Affections and Inclinations of *Scotland*; the ordering and well disposing whereof, either side sufficiently understood, would be of moment, and extraordinary importance in the growing Contention. From the time of the King’s being last there, when he had so fully complied with all they

had desired, both for the public Government, and their private Advancements, that Kingdom within itself enjoyed as much Quiet and Tranquillity as they could desire; having the convenience of disburdening themselves of their late Army into *Ireland*, whither their old General *Leslie*, then made Earl of *Leven*, was employed in his full Command by the King and the two Houses, at the charge of *England*. So that many believed they had been so abundantly satisfied with what they had already gotten from *England*, that they had no farther projects upon this Kingdom. but meant to make their Fortunes by a new Conquest in *Ireland*, where they had a very great part of the Province of *Ulster* planted by their own Nation. So that, according to their rules of good Husbandry, they might expect whatsoever they got from the Rebels to keep for Themselves. And the King himself was so confident that the Affections of that People could not be so corrupted towards him, as to make a farther attempt upon him, that he believed them, to a degree, sensible of their former breach of Duty, and willing to repair it by any service. *Leslie* himself had made great acknowledgments, and great professions to him, and had told him, "that it was nothing to promise him, "that he would never more bear Arms against him, "but he promised he would Serve his Majesty upon "any Summons without asking the cause." The Earl of *Lowden*, and all the rest, who had missed the People, were possessed of whatsoever they could desire, and the future Fortune of That Nation seemed to depend wholly upon the keeping up the King's full power in This.

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His Majesty had, from time to time, given his Council of that Kingdom full relations of all his differences with his Parliament, and had carefully sent them the Declarations, and public Passages of both sides, and they had always returned very ample expressions of their Affections and Duty, and expressed a great sense of the Parliament's proceedings towards him. And since the time of his being at *York*, the Lord Chancellor of *Scotland*, in whose Integrity and Loyalty he was least secure, had been with him; and seemed so well satisfied with the Justice and Honor of his Majesty's carriage towards the Parliament, that he writ to the *Scottish* Commissioners at *London*, in the name, and as by the direction of the Lords of the secret Council of that Kingdom, "that they should present to the two Houses the deep sense they had of the Injuries and Indignities, which were offered to the King, whose just Rights they were bound to defend; and that they should conjure them, to bind up those wounds which were made, and not to widen them by sharpness of Language; and to give his Majesty such real security for his safety among them, by an effectual declaring against Tumults, and such other Actions as were justly offensive to his Majesty, that he might be induced to reside nearer to them, and comply with them in such Propositions as should be reasonably made;" with many such expressions, as together with his return into *Scotland* without coming to *London*, where he was expected, gave them so much offence and jealousy, that they never communicated that Letter to the Houses,

Houses, and took all possible care to conceal it from the People.

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The Marquis *Hamilton* had been likewise with his Majesty at *York*, and finding the Eyes of all Men directed towards him with more than ordinary jealousy, he offered the King to go into *Scotland*, with many Assurances and Undertakings, confident “that he would at least keep that People from doing any thing, that might seem to countenance “the carriage of the Parliament.” Upon which promises, and to be rid of him at *York*, where he was by all Men looked upon with marvellous prejudice, the King suffered him to go, with full Assurance that he would, and he was sure he could, do him very good service there: as, on the other side, in his own Court he was so great an offence, that the whole Gentry of *Yorkshire*, who no doubt had insinuations to that purpose from others, had a design to have petitioned the King, that the Marquis might be sequestered from all Councils, and presence at Court, as a Man too much trusted by them who would not trust his Majesty.

Lastly, the King had many of the Nobility of *Scotland* then attending, and among those the Earl of *Calander*, who had been Lieutenant General of the *Scottish* Army, when it invaded *England*, and had freely confessed to his Majesty, upon what errors and mistakes he had been corrupted, and by whom, and pretended so deep a sense of what he had done amiss, that it was believed, he would have taken Command in the King's Army; which he declined, as if it might have been penal to him

B O O K VI. in *Scotland* by some clause in the Act of the Pacification, but especially upon pretence it would disable him from doing him greater service in that Kingdom; whither, shortly after the Standard was set up, he repaired, with all solemn Vows of asserting, and improving his Majesty's Interest in those parts.

The Parliament on the other hand assured themselves, that That Nation was entirely Theirs, having their Commissioners residing with them at *London*; and the chief Managers and Governors in the first War, by their late intercourse, and communication of Guilt, having a firm correspondence with the Marquis of *Argile*, the Earl of *Lowden*, and that Party, who being not able to excuse themselves, thought the King could never in his heart forgive them, when it should be in his power to bring them to justice. And they undertook that when there should be need of that Nation (which the other thought there would never be) they should be as forward to second them as They had been; in the meantime returned as fair, and respective Answers to all their Messages, and upon their Declarations, which were constantly sent to them, as they did to the King; assisting them in their design against the Church, which was not yet grown Popular even in the two Houses, by declaring "that the People of that Nation could never be engaged on any other ground, than the Reformation of Religion." And therefore, about the beginning of *August*, the Assembly of the Kirk of *Scotland* published a Declaration; "how exceedingly grieved they were, and "made heavy, that in so long a time, against the

“ professions both of King and Parliament, and
 “ contrary to the joint desires and prayers of the
 “ Godly in both Kingdoms, to whom it was more
 “ dear and precious, than what was dearest to them in
 “ the world, the Reformation of Religion had moved
 “ so slowly, and suffered so great interruption.”

The ground of which reproach was this; in the late Treaty of Peace, the Commissioners for *Scotland* had expressed a desire or wish warily couched in words, rather than a Proposition, “ that there were
 “ such an Unity of Religion, and Uniformity of
 “ Church - Government agreed on, as might be a
 “ special means for conserving of Peace betwixt the
 “ two Kingdoms:” To which there had been a general inclination to return a rough Answer, and reproof for their intermeddling in any thing that related to the Laws of *England*. But, by the extraordinary industry, and subtlety of those, who saw that business was not yet ripe, and who alledged, that it was only wished, not proposed, and therefore that a sharp reply was not merited, this gentle Answer, against the minds of very many, was returned.

“ That his Majesty, with the advice of both
 “ Houses of Parliament, did approve of the Affec-
 “ tion of his Subjects of *Scotland*, in their desire
 “ of having Conformity of Church-Government
 “ between the two Nations; and as the Parliament
 “ had already taken into consideration the Refor-
 “ mation of Church-Government, so they would
 “ proceed therein in the due time, as should best

B O O K “ conduce to the glory of God, the Peace of the
VI. “ Church, and of both Kingdoms.”

Which was consented to by most, as a civil Answer, signifying, or concluding nothing; by others, because it admitted an interpretation of reducing the Government of the Church in *Scotland* to this of *England*, as much as the contrary. But it might have been well discerned, that those Men asked nothing without a farther design than the words naturally imported, nor ever rested satisfied with a general formal Answer, except they found, that they should hereafter make use, and receive benefit by such Answer. So they now urged the matter of this Answer, as a sufficient Title to demand the extirpation of Prelacy in *England*, and demolishing the whole Fabric of that glorious Church; urging his Majesty's late practice, while he was in Person in *Scotland*, in resorting frequently to their exercises of public Worship; and his Royal Actions, in establishing the Worship and Government of that Kirk in Parliament. And therefore they desired the Parliament “ to begin their work of Reformation at
“ the Uniformity of Kirk-Government; for that
“ there could be no hope of Unity in Religion, of
“ one Confession of Faith, one Form of Worship,
“ and one Carechism, till there were first one Form
“ of Church-Government; and that the Kingdom,
“ and Kirk of *Scotland*, could have no hope of a
“ firm and durable Peace, till Prelacy, which had
“ been the main cause of their miseries and troubles,
“ first and last, were plucked up root and branch,
“ as a plant which God had not planted, and from

“ which no better fruits could be expected, than
 “ such four Grapes, as at that day set on edge the
 “ Kingdom of *England*.”

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Which Declaration the Lords of the secret Council, finding, as they said, “ the reasons therein expressed to be very pregnant, and the particulars desired, much to conduce to the glory of God, “ the advancement of the true Christian Faith, his “ Majesty’s Honor, and the Peace, and Union of “ his Dominions, well approved of;” and concurred in their earnest desires to the two Houses of Parliament, “ to take to their serious considerations those “ particulars, and to give favorable hearing to such “ desires and overtures, as should be found most “ conducive to the promoting so great, and so “ good a work.”

This being sent to the Parliament at the time they were forming their Army, and when the King was preparing for his defence, they who, from the beginning, had principally intended this confusion of the Church, insinuated “ how necessary it was, “ speedily to return a very affectionate, and satisfactory reply to the Kingdom of *Scotland*; not only “ to preserve the reputation of unity, and consent “ between them, which, at that time, was very “ useful to them, but to hinder the operations of “ the disaffected in that Kingdom; who, upon insinuations that the Parliament only aimed at taking “ his Majesty’s Regal rights from him, to the “ prejudice of Monarchic Government, without “ any thought of reforming Religion, endeavoured “ to pervert the Affections of that People towards

BOOK VI. " the Parliament. Whereas if they were once assured
 " there was a purpose to reform Religion, they
 " should be sure to have their Hearts; and if occa-
 " sion required, their Hands too; which possibly
 " might be seduced for the King, if that purpose
 " were not manifested. Therefore, for the present,
 " they should do well to return their hearty thanks
 " for, and their Brotherly acceptance and appro-
 " bation of the desires, and advice of that Christian
 " Assembly, and of the Lords of the Council; and
 " that though, for the present, by reason of the
 " King's distance from the Parliament, they could
 " not settle any conclusion in that matter, yet for
 " Their parts they were resolved to endeavour it."

By this Artifice and Invention, they procured a
 Declaration from the two Houses of Parliament,
 of wonderful kindness, and confession of many in-
 conveniencies, and mischiefs the Kingdom had
 sustained by Bishops; and therefore they declared,
 " that That Hierarchical Government was evil,
 " and justly offensive, and burdensome to the
 " Kingdom; a great impediment to Reformation,
 " and growth of Religion; very prejudicial to the
 " State and Government of the Kingdom; and that
 " they were resolved, that the same should be taken
 " away; and that their purpose was to consult with
 " Godly, and Learned Divines, that they might
 " not only remove That, but settle such a Govern-
 " ment, as might be most agreeable to God's holy
 " word; most apt to procure, and conserve the
 " Peace of the Church at home, and happy Union
 " with the Church of *Scotland*, and other Reformed

“ Churches abroad ; and to establish the same by a
 “ Law , which they intended to frame for that
 “ purpose , to be presented to his Majesty for his
 “ Royal Assent ; and in the mean time to beseech
 “ him , that a Bill for the Assembly might be passed
 “ in time convenient for their meeting ;” the two
 Houses having extrajudicially and extravagantly
 nominated their own Divines to that purpose , as is
 before remembered.

It was then believed by many , and the King was
 persuaded to believe the same , that all those Im-
 portunities from *Scotland* concerning the Govern-
 ment of the Church , were used only to preserve
 themselves from being pressed by the Parliament ,
 to join with them against the King ; imagining
 that this Kingdom would never have consented to
 such an alteration ; and they again pretending ,
 that no other obligation could unite that People in
 their Service. But it is most certain , this last De-
 claration was procured by persuading Men , “ that
 “ it was for the present necessary , and that it was
 “ only an Engagement to do their best to persuade
 “ his Majesty , who they concluded would be in-
 “ exorable in the point ” (which they seemed not
 to be sorry for) “ and that a receding from such a
 “ conclusion would be a means to gratify his Ma-
 “ jesty in a Treaty.” At worst , they all knew ,
 that there would be room enough , when any Bill
 should be brought in , to oppose what they had ,
 for this reason of State , seemed generally to con-
 sent to. And so by these Stratagems , thinking to
 be too hard for each other , they grew all so

B O O K VI. entangled, that they still wound themselves deeper into those Labyrinths, in which the Major part must not to be involved. And what effect that Declaration of the two Houses, after the Battle of *Edge-hill*, which is mentioned before, wrought, will very shortly appear.

The King at
Oxford re-
ceives his
Army.

The King found himself in good ease at *Oxford*, where care was taken for providing for the sick, and wounded Soldiers, and for the Accommodation of the Army. Which was, in a short time, recruited there in a good measure; and the several Colleges presented his Majesty with all the Money they had in their Treasuries, which amounted to a good Sum, and was a very seasonable supply, as they had formerly sent him all their Plate. It had been very happy, if the King had continued his resolution of sitting still during the Winter, without making farther attempts; for his Reputation was now great, and his Army believed to be much greater than it was, by the Victory they had obtained, and the Parliament grew more divided into Factions, and dislike of what they had done, and the City appeared fuller of discontent, and less inclin'd to be impos'd upon than they had been: so that on all hands nothing was press'd, but that some address might be made to the King for an accommodation; which temper and disposition might have been cultivated, as many Men thought, to great effects, if no farther approaches had been made to *London*, to show them how little cause they had for their great fear. But the Weather growing fair again, as it often is about *Allhallowtide*,

and a good party of Horse having been sent out from *Abingdon*, where the head Quarter of the Horse was, they advanced farther than they had order to do, and upon their approach to *Reading*, where *Harry Martin* was Governor for the Parliament, there was a great terror seized upon them, insomuch as Governor and Garrison fled to *London*, and left the place to the party of Horse; which gave advertisement to the King "that all fled before them; that the Earl of *Effex* remained still at *Warwick*, having no Army to March; and that there was so great divisions in the Parliament, that, upon his Majesty's approach, they would all fly; and that nothing could interrupt him from going to *White-Hall*. However *Reading* itself was so good a Post, that if the King should find it necessary to make his own Residence in *Oxford*, it would be much the better by having a Garrison at *Reading*."

B O O K
VI.

The Garrison
of the Parlia-
ment at *Read-*
ing quitting
it, the King
marches
thither.

Upon these and other motives, besides the natural credulity in Men, in believing all they wished to be true, the King was prevailed with to march with his Army to *Reading*. This Alarm quickly came to *London* and was received with the deepest horror: they now unbelieved all which had been told them from their own Army; that Army which, they were told, was well beaten, and scattered, was now advanced within thirty Miles of *London*; and the Earl of *Effex*, who pretended to the Victory, and who they supposed was watching the King, that he might not escape from him, could not be heard of, and continued still at *Warwick*. Whilst the King was at *Nottingham*, and *Shrewsbury*, they gave orders

B O O N VI. Magisterially for the War, but now it was come to their own doors, they took not that delight in it.

Before they were resolved what to say, they despatched a Messenger, who found the King at *Reading*, only to desire “ a Safe Conduct from his Majesty for “ a Committee of Lords and Commons, to attend “ his Majesty with a humble Petition from his Parliament ” The King presently returned his Answer, “ that he had always been, and was still ready to “ receive any Petition from them ; that their Committee should be Welcome, provided it consisted “ of Persons, who had not been by name declared “ Traytors by his Majesty, and excepted as such in “ his Declarations, or Proclamations.” The cause of this limitation was as well the former Rule his Majesty had set down at *Shrewsbury* (from whence he thought not fit now to recede, after a Battle) as that he might prevent the Lord *Say*’s being sent to him, from whom he could expect no entire, and upright dealing.

The next day another Letter came from the Speaker of the House of Peers to the Lord *Falkland*, one of his Majesty’s Principal Secretaries, to desire “ a Safe “ Conduct for the Earls of *Northumberland*, and “ *Pembroke*, and four Members of the House of Commons, to attend his Majesty with their Petition ; ” which Safe Conduct was immediately signed by his Majesty, excepting only for Sir *John Evelyn*, who was by name excepted in his Majesty’s Proclamation of Pardon to the County of *Wills* ; which Proclamation was then sent to them with a signification, “ that “ if they would send any other Person in his place,

“ not subject to the same exception, he should be
 “ received as if his name were in the Safe Conduct”
 Though this was no more than they had cause to
 look for, yet it gave them opportunity for a time to
 lay aside the thought of Petitioning, as if his Majesty
 had rejected all Overtures of Peace: “ For he might
 “ every day proclaim as many of their Members
 “ Traytors, and except them from Pardon, as he
 “ pleased, and therefore it was to no purpose to
 “ prepare Petitions, and appoint Messengers to pre-
 “ sent them, when it was possible those Messengers
 “ might, the hour before, be proclaimed Traytors:
 “ that to submit to such a limitation of the King’s
 “ was, upon the matter, to consent to, and ap-
 “ prove the highest breach of Privilege, that had
 “ been yet offered to them.”

So that, for some days, all discourse of Peace was
 waved, and all possible preparations for defence and
 resistance made for which they had a stronger Argu-
 ment than either of the other, the advancing of their
 General, the Earl of *Essex*, who was now on his march
 towards *London*; and a great fame came before him
 of the strength and Courage of his Army; though in
 truth it was not answerable to the report: However,
 it served to encourage, and inflame those whose fear
 only inclined them to Peace and to awe the rest.
 The King, who had every night an account of what
 was transacted in the Houses all day (what the close
 Committee did, who guided all private designs, was
 not so soon known) resolved to quicken them; and
 advanced with his whole Army to *Colebrook*. This
 indeed exalted their appetite to Peace; for the clamor

B O O K
 VI.

The King
 advances to
Colebrook.

B O O K of the People was importunate, and somewhat
VI. humbled their Style; for at *Colebrock*, the 11th of
November, his Majesty was met by the two Earls of
Northumberland, and *Pembroke*, with those three of
the House of Commons whose Names were in the
Safe Conduct; they satisfying themselves, that the
leaving Sir *John Evelyn* behind them, without bring-
ing another in his room, was no Submission to the
King's exception: and this Petition was by them
presented to him.

A petition pre-
sented to the
King from
both Houses.

" We your Majesty's most Loyal Subjects, the
" Lords and Commons in Parliament assembled,
" being affected with a deep and piercing sense of
" the miseries of this Kingdom, and of the dangers
" to your Majesty's Person, as the present affairs
" now stand; and much quickened therein with the
" sad consideration of the great effusion of Blood at
" the late Battle, and of the loss of so many eminent
" Persons; and farther weighing the addition of
" Loss, Misery, and Danger to your Majesty, and
" your Kingdom, which must ensue, if both Armies
" should again join in another Battle, as without
" God's especial blessing, and your Majesty's con-
" currence with your Houses of Parliament will not
" probably be avoided: We cannot but believe that
" a suitable impression of tenderness, and compassion,
" is wrought in your Majesty's Royal heart, being
" yourself an Eye-Witness of the bloody and sorrow-
" ful destruction of so many of your Subjects; and
" that your Majesty doth apprehend what diminu-
" tion of your own Power and Greatness will follow,
" and that all your Kingdoms will thereby be so

“ weakened as to become subject to the Attempts of
 “ any ill affected to this State.

“ In all which respects We assure ourselves, that
 “ Your Majesty will be inclined graciously to accept
 “ this our humble Petition; that the misery, and
 “ desolation of this Kingdom may be speedily re-
 “ moved, and prevented. For the effecting whereof,
 “ We humbly beseech your Majesty to appoint some
 “ convenient place, not far from the City of *London*,
 “ where your Majesty will be pleased to reside, until
 “ Committees of both Houses of Parliament may
 “ attend your Majesty with some Propositions for
 “ the removal of these bloody distempers and dis-
 “ tractions, and settling the State of the Kingdom in
 “ such a manner as may conduce to the preservation
 “ of God’s true Religion, your Majesty’s Honor,
 “ Safety, and Prosperity; and to the Peace, Com-
 “ fort, and Security of all your People.

The King, within two or three hours after the receipt of this Petition, delivered to the same Messengers, this ensuing Answer, with which they returned the same Night to *London*.

“ We take God to Witness, how deeply We are
 “ affected with the miseries of this Kingdom, which
 “ heretofore We have stroven, as much as in Us
 “ lay to prevent; it being sufficiently known to all
 “ the world that, as We were not the first that took
 “ up Arms, so, We have showed Our readiness of
 “ composing all things in a fair way, by our several
 “ offers of Treaty, and shall be glad now at length
 “ to find any such inclinations in others. The same
 “ tenderness to avoid the destruction of our Subjects

The King’s
 Answer.

B O O K “ (whom We know to be our greatest strength)
 VI. “ which would always make our greatest Victories
 “ bitter to us, shall make us willingly hearken to
 “ such Propositions, whereby these bloody dis-
 “ tempers may be stopped, and the great distractions
 “ of this Kingdom settled to God’s glory. Our Honor,
 “ and the Welfare, and Flourishing of Our People:
 “ And to that end shall reside at our own Castle at
 “ *Windſor* (if the Forces there shall be removed) till
 “ Committees may have time to attend us with the
 “ ſame (which, to prevent the Inconveniencies that
 “ will intervene, We wiſh be haſtened) and ſhall
 “ be ready there, or, if that be reſuſed us, at any
 “ place where We ſhall be, to receive ſuch Pro-
 “ poſitions as aforeſaid, from both our Houſes of
 “ Parliament. Do you Your duty, We will not be
 “ wanting in Ours. God of his mercy give a bleſſing.”

It was then believed by many, that if the King had, as ſoon as the Meſſengers returned to *London*, retired with his Army to *Reading*, and there expected the Parliament’s Answers, they would immediately have withdrawn their Garrifon from *Windſor*, and delivered that Caſtle to his Maſteſty for his accommodation to have treated in: And without doubt thoſe Lords who had been with the Petition, and ſome others who thought themſelves as much overſhadowed, by the greatneſs of the Earl of *Effex*, and the Chief Officers of the Army, as they could be by the glory of any Favorite, or power of any Counſellors, were reſolved to merit as much as they could of the King, by advancing an honorable Peace; and had it in their purpoſe to endeavour the giving up

of *Windſor* to the King; but whether they would have been able to have prevailed that ſo conſiderable a ſtrength, in ſo conſiderable a place, ſhould have been quitted, whiſt there was only hope of a Peace, I much doubt. But certainly the King's Army carried great terror with it; and all thoſe reports, which publiſhed the weakneſs of it, grew to be peremptorily diſbelieved. For, beſides that every day's experience diſproved ſomewhat which was ſo confidently reported, and it was evident great induſtry was uſed to apply ſuch Intelligence to the People as was moſt like to make impreſſion upon the paſſions, and affections of the Vulgar-ſpirited, it could not be believed that a handful of Men could have given Battle to their formidable Army, and after taking two or three of their Garrifons, preſume to march within fifteen Miles of *London*: ſo that, if from thence the King had drawn back again to *Reading*, relying upon a Treaty for the reſt, it is probable his power would have been more valued, and conſequently his grace the more magnified. And ſure the King reſolved to have done ſo, or at leaſt to have ſtayed at *Colebrook* till he heard again from the Parliament. But Prince *Rupert*, exalted with the terror he heard his Name gave to the Enemy, truſting too much to the Vulgar Intelligence every Man received from his Friends at *London*, who according to their own paſſions and the Affections of thoſe with whom they correſponded, concluded that the King had ſo great a Party in *London*, that, if his Army drew near, no reſiſtance would be made, without any direction from the King the very next morning after the Com-

B O O K mittee returned to *London*, advanced with the Horse
VI. and Dragoons to *Hownslow*, and then sent to the King to desire him that the Army might march after; which was, in that case of absolute necessity; for the Earl of *Essex* had a part of his Army at *Brentford*, and the rest at *Acton*, and *Kingston*. So that if the King had not advanced with His Body, those who were before might very easily have been compassed in, and their Retreat made very difficult.

The King
 marches to-
 wards,
Brentford.

So the King marched with his whole Army towards *Brentford*, where were two Regiments of their best Foot (for so they were accounted, being those who had eminently behaved themselves at *Edge-hill*) having Barricadoed the narrow Avenues to the Town, and cast up some little Breast-Works at the most convenient places. Here a *Welsh* Regiment of the King's, which had been faulty at *Edge-hill*, recovered its Honor, assaulted the Works, and forced the Barricadoes well defended by the Enemy. Then the King's Forces entered the Town after a very warm Service, the chief Officers, and many Soldiers of the other side being killed; and they took there above five hundred Prisoners, eleven Colours, and fifteen Pieces of Cannon, and good store of Ammunition. But this Victory (for considering the place it might well be called so) proved not at all fortunate to his Majesty.

The two Houses were so well satisfied with the Answer their Committee had brought from the King, and with the report they made of his Majesty's Clemency, and gracious Reception of them, that they had sent order to their Forces, " That they
 " should

“ should not exercise any Act of Hostility towards
 “ the King’s Forces;” and, at the same time, des-
 patched a Messenger, to acquaint his Majesty there-
 with, and to desire “ that there might be the like
 “ forbearance on His part.” The Messenger found
 both Parties engaged at *Brentford*, and so returned
 without attending his Majesty, who had no appre-
 hension that they intended any Cessation; since those
 Forces were advanced to *Brentford*, *Acton*, and
Kingston, after their Committee was sent to *Colebrook*.
 However they looked upon this entering of *Brentford*
 as a surprise contrary to Faith, and the betraying
 their Forces to a Massacre, under the specious pre-
 tence of a Treaty for Peace. The Alarm came to
London, with the same Terror as if the Army were
 entered their Gates, and the King accused “ of Trea-
 “ chery, Perfidy, and Blood; and that he had
 “ given the Spoil and Wealth of the City as Pillage
 “ to his Army, which advanced with no other
 “ purpose.”

They who believed nothing of those Calumnies,
 were not yet willing the King should enter the City
 with an Army, which, they knew, would not be
 Governed in so Rich Quarters; and therefore, with
 unspeakable Expedition, the Army under the Earl
 of *Essex* was not only drawn together, but all the
 Trained-bands of *London* led out in their brightest
 Equipage upon the Heath next *Brentford*; where
 they had indeed a full Army of Horse and Foot, fit
 to have decided the Title of a Crown with an
 equal Adversary. The View and Prospect of this
 strength, which nothing but that sudden Exigent

The Earl of
 Essex’s Army,
 and the City
 Trained-
 bands opposed
 against them.

B O O K could have brought together, extremely puffed them
VI. up; not only as it was an ample Security against the present danger, but as it looked like a Safe Power to encounter any other. They had now before their Eyes the King's little handful of Men, and then begun to wonder and blush at their own fears; and all this might be without excess of Courage; for without doubt their numbers then, without the advantage of Equipage (which to Soldiers is a great addition of Mettle) were five times greater than the King's, Harassed, Weather-beaten, and half-starved Troops.

I have heard many knowing Men, and some who were then in the City-Regiments, say, "That if the King had Advanced, and Charged that Massive body, it had presently given ground; and that the King had so great a Party in every Regiment, that they would have made no resistance. But it had been madness, which no Success could have vindicated, to have made that attempt: and the King easily discerned that He had brought himself into straits and difficulties, which would be hardly mastered, and exposed his Victorious Army to a view, at too near a distance of his two Enemies, the Parliament and the City. Yet he stood all that day in Battalia to receive them, who only played upon him with their Cannon, to the loss only of four or five Horses, and not one Man. The constitution of their Forces, where there were very many not at all affected to the Company they were in, being a good argument to Them not to Charge the King, which had been an ill one to Him to Charge Them.

When the Evening drew on, and it appeared that great Body stood only for the defence of the City, the King appointed his Army to draw off to *Kingston*, which the Rebels had kindly quitted; which they did without the loss of a Man; and himself went to his own House at *Hampton-Court*; where he rested the next day, as well to refresh his Army, even tired with Watching and Fasting, as to expect some Propositions from the Houses. For, upon his Advance to *Brentford*, he had sent a Servant of his own, one Mr. *White*, with a Message to the Parliament, containing the reasons of that motion (there being no Cessation offered on Their part) and desiring "the Propositions might be despatched to him with all speed." But his Messenger being carried to the Earl of *Essex*, was by him used very roughly, and by the Houses committed to the Gatehouse, not without the motion of some Men, "that he might be executed as a Spv."

After a day's stay at *Hampton-Court*, the King removed himself to his House at *Oatlands*, leaving the gross of his Army still at *Kingston*, and thereabouts; but being then informed of the high imputations they had laid upon him; "of breach of Faith, by his march to *Brentford*; and that the City was really inflamed with an opinion, that he meant to have surprised them, and to have sacked the Town; that they were so possessed with that fear, and apprehension, that their care and preparation for their safety would at least keep off all Propositions for Peace, whilst the Army lay so near *London*:" He gave

B O O K

VI.

Thence to
Reading.

direction for all his Forces to retire to *Reading*; first discharging all the Common-Soldiers, who had been taken Prisoners at *Brentford* (except such who Voluntarily offered to serve him) upon their Oaths that they would no more bear Arms against his Majesty.

The King
sends a Mes-
sage to the
Houses.

The King then sent a Message to the Houses, in which " He took notice of those unjust and unreasonable imputations raised on him; told them " again of the reasons and circumstances of His motion towards *Brentford*; of the Earl of *Essex*'s " drawing out his Forces towards him, and possessing those Quarters about him, and almost hemming him in, after the time that the Commissioners " were sent to him with the Petition; that he had " never heard of the least overture of the forbearing " all Acts of Hostility, but saw the contrary practised by Them by that Advance; that he had not " the least thought or intention of mastering the City " by Force, or carrying his Army thither: That he " wondered to hear his Soldiers charged with thirsting after blood, when they took above five " hundred Prisoners in the very heat of the Fight. " He told them such were most apt, and likely to " maintain their Power by Blood and Rapine, who " had only got it by Oppression and Injustice; that " His was vested in him by the Law, and by that " only (if the destructive Counsels of others did not " hinder such a Peace, in which that might once " again be the universal rule, and in which only " Religion and Justice could flourish) he desired to " maintain it: that he intended to march to such a

“ distance from his City of *London* as might take
 “ away all pretence of apprehension from his Army,
 “ that might hinder them from preparing their Pro-
 “ positions, in all security, to be presented to him;
 “ and there he would be ready to receive them, or,
 “ if that expedient pleased them not, to end the
 “ Pressures and Miseries, which his Subjects, to
 “ his great grief, suffered through this War, by a
 “ present Battle.”

But as the Armies being so near *London* was an Argument against a present Treaty, so its remove to *Reading* was a greater with very many not to desire any. The danger, which they had brought themselves for some days together to look upon at their Gates, was now to be contemned at the distance of thirty miles; and this Retreat imputed only to the fear of their Power, not to the inclinations to Peace. And therefore they, who during the time that the Major part did really desire a good Peace, and whilst Overtures were preparing to that purpose, had the skill to intermingle Acts more destructive to it, than any Propositions could be contributory (as the inviting the *Scots* to their Assistance by that Declaration, which is before mentioned; and the publishing a Declaration at the same time, which had lain long by them, in reply to one set forth by the King long before in Answer to their's of the 26th of *May*, in which they used both his Person and his Power with more irreverence than they had ever done before) now only insisted on the surprise, as they called it, of *Brentford*; and published, by the Authority of both Houses, a relation of the carriage

BOOK VI. of the King's Soldiers in that Town after their Victory (which they framed upon the discourses of the Country-People, who possibly as it could not be otherwise, had received damage by their Licence then) to make the King and his Army odious to the Kingdom; "as affecting nothing but Blood and
 " Rapine; and concluding, that there could not be
 " reasonably expected any good Conditions of a tolerable Peace from the King, whilst he was in such
 " Company; and therefore that all particular Propositions were to be resolved into that one, of inviting his Majesty to come to them;" and got a Vote from the Major part of both Houses, "that
 " no other measure for Accommodation or Treaty
 " should be thought on."

Their Trusty Lord Mayor of London, *Isaac Pennington* who was again chosen to serve another year, so bestowed himself, having to assist him two Sheriffs, *Langham* and *Andrews*, as they could wish, that there was not only no more importunity or interposition from the City for Peace; but, instead thereof, an Overture and Declaration from divers, under the style of well affected Persons, "that they
 " would advance a considerable number of Soldiers,
 " for the supply and recruit of the Parliament-Forces;
 " and would Arm, Maintain, and Pay them for
 " several Months, or during the times of danger,
 " and distractions; provided that they might have
 " the public Faith of the Kingdom for repayment
 " of all such Sums of Money, which they should so
 " advance by way of Loan." This wonderful kind of Proposition was presently declared "to be an

“ acceptable service to the King, Parliament, and B O O K
 “ Kingdom, and necessarily tending to the prefer- VI.
 “ vation of them ;” and therefore an Ordinance, as
 they call it, was framed and passed both Houses :

“ That all such as should furnish Men, Money, An Ordinance
 “ Horse, or Arms for that Service, should have the for raising
 “ same fully repaid again, with Interest for the Money upon
 “ forbearance thereof, from the times disbursed. the public
 “ And for the true payment thereof, they did there- Faith.
 “ by engage to all, and every such Person, and
 “ Persons, the public Faith of the Kingdom.” And
 ordered the Lord Mayor, and Sheriffs of *London*,
 by themselves, or such Sub-Committees as they
 should appoint, to take Subscriptions, and to intend
 the advancement of that Service. Upon this volun-
 tary, general Proposition, made by a few obscure
 Men, probably such who were not able to supply
 much Money, was this Ordinance made; and from
 this Ordinance the Active Mayor, and Sheriffs,
 appointed a Committee of such Persons whose in-
 clinations they well knew, to press all kind of Peo-
 ple, especially those who were not forward, to new
 Subscriptions; and, by degrees, from this uncon-
 sidered passage, grew the monthly Tax of six thou-
 sand pounds to be set upon the City for the payment
 of the Army.

As they provided, with this notable circumspec-
 tion, to raise Men and Money; so they took not
 less Care, nor used less Art, and Industry, to raise
 their General; and lest he might suppose himself fallen
 in their good grace, and confidence, by bringing
 an Army back shattered, poor, and discomforted,

B O O K which he had carried out in full Numbers, and glorious Equipage. they used him with greater reverence and submission than ever. They had before appointed another distinct Army to be raised under the Command of the Earl of *Warwick*, and not subject to the Power of the Earl of *Essex*, and of this, several Regiments and Troops were raised; these they sent to the old Army, and the Earl of *Warwick* gave up his Commission, upon resolution "that there should be only One General. and He, the Earl of *Essex*." Then the two Houses passed, and presented, with great solemnity, this Declaration to his Excellency, the same day that their Committee went to the King with their Petition:

A Declaration
of both Houses
concerning
their General's
acceptable
Service.

" That, as they had, upon mature deliberation,
" and assured confidence in his Wisdom, Courage,
" and Fidelity, chosen, and appointed Him their
" Captain General; so they did find, that the said
" Earl had managed that Service, of so high import-
" ance, with so much care, valor, and dexterity,
" as well by the extremeſt hazard of his life, in a
" bloody Battle near *Keinton* in *Warwickſhire*, as by
" all the Actions of a moſt excellent and expert Com-
" mander, in the whole courſe of that employment,
" as did deſerve their beſt acknowledgment: And,
" they did therefore declare, and publiſh, to the
" laſting Honor of the ſaid Earl, the great and accept-
" table Service, which he had therein done to the
" Common-wealth; and ſhould be willing and ready,
" upon all occaſions, to expreſs the due ſenſe they
" had of his merits, by aſſuring and protecting Him,
" and all others employed under his Command in

“ that Service, with their Lives and Fortunes, to
 “ the uttermost of their Power : that Testimony
 “ and Declaration to remain upon record, in both
 “ Houses of Parliament, for a mark of Honor to his
 “ Person, Name, and Family, and for a Monu-
 “ ment of his singular Virtue to Posterity.

B O O K
VI.

When they had thus composed their Army and their General, they sent this Petition to the King to *Reading*, who stayed still there in expectation of their Propositions.

May it please your Majesty :

“ It is humbly desired by both Houses of Parlia-
 “ ment, that your Majesty will be pleased to return
 “ to your Parliament, with your Royal, not your
 “ Martial, Attendance; to the end that Religion,
 “ Laws, and Liberties, may be settled and secured
 “ by Their advice ; finding by a sad, and late acci-
 “ dent, that your Majesty is environed by some
 “ such Counsels, as do rather persuade a desperate
 “ division, than a joining and a good agreement
 “ with your Parliament and People : And We shall
 “ be ready to give your Majesty Assurances of such
 “ security, as may be for your Honor, and the safety
 “ of your Royal Person.

The Houses
 Petition to
 the King
 Nov 24.

As soon as the King received this strange Address, he returned them by the same Messenger a sharp Answer to this effect ; He told them, “ he hoped all
 “ his good Subjects would look upon that Message
 “ with Indignation, as intended, by the Contrivers
 “ thereof, as a scorn to him ; and thereby designed
 “ by that Malignant Party (of whom he had so often
 “ complained, whose safety and ambition was built

The Substance
 of the King's
 Answer.

B O O K
VI.

“ upon the Divisions and Ruins of the Kingdom;
 “ and who had too great an influence upon their
 “ Actions) for a Wall of separation betwixt his Ma-
 “ jesty and his People. He said, he had often told
 “ them the reasons, why he departed from *London*;
 “ how he was chased thence, and by whom; and
 “ as often complained, that the greatest part of his
 “ Peers, and of the Members of the House of Com-
 “ mons, could not, with safety to their Honors and
 “ Persons, continue, and Vote freely among them;
 “ but, by violence, and cunning practices, were
 “ debarred of those Privileges, which their Birth-
 “ rights, and the trust reposed in them by their
 “ Counties, gave them: That the whole Kingdom
 “ knew that an Army was raised, under pretence
 “ of Orders of both Houses (an usurpation never
 “ before heard of in any Age) which Army had pur-
 “ sued his Majesty in his own Kingdom; given him
 “ Battle at *Keinton* and now, those Rebels being
 “ recruited, and possessed of the City of *London*, he
 “ was courteously invited to return to his Parliament
 “ there, that is, to the power of that Army.

“ That, he said, could signify nothing but that,
 “ since the Trayterous endeavours of those desperate
 “ Men could not snatch the Crown from His head,
 “ it being defended by the Providence of God, and
 “ the Affections and Loyalty of his good Subjects,
 “ he should now tamely come up, and give it them;
 “ and put Himself, his Life, and the Lives, Liberties,
 “ and Fortunes of all his good Subjects into their
 “ Merciful hands. He said, he thought not fit to
 “ give any other Answer to that part of their Peti-

" tion: But as he imputed not that affront to both
 " his Houses of Parliament, nor to the Major part
 " of those who were then present there, but to that
 " dangerous Party his Majesty and the Kingdom
 " must still cry out upon; so he would not (for his
 " good Subject sake and out of his most tender sense
 " of their Miseries, and the general Calamities of
 " the Kingdom, which must, if the War continued,
 " speedily overwhelm the whole Nation) take advan-
 " tage of it: But if they would really pursue the
 " course they seemed, by their Petition at *Colebrook*,
 " to be inclined to, he should make good all he then
 " promised; whereby the hearts of his distressed
 " Subjects might be raised with the hopes of Peace;
 " without which, Religion, the Laws, and Li-
 " berties, could by no ways be settled and secured.
 " For the late, and sad accident they mentioned,
 " if they intended that of *Brentford*, he desired them
 " once again to deal ingenuously with the People,
 " and to let them see his last Message to them, and
 " his Declaration concerning the same" (both which
 " his Majesty had sent to his Press at *London*, but were
 " taken away from his Messenger, and not suffered
 " to be published) " and then he doubted not, but
 " they would be soon undeceived, and easily find
 " out those Counsels, which did rather persuade a
 " desperate division, than a good agreement be-
 " twixt his Majesty, his two Houses, and People.

This Answer being delivered, without any farther
 consideration whether the same were reasonable or
 not reasonable, they declared "the King had no
 " mind to Peace;" and thereupon laid aside all

B O O K farther Debates to that purpose; and ordered their
VI. General to march to *Windfor* with the Army, to be so much nearer the King's Forces; for the better recruiting whereof, two of their most eminent Chaplains, *Dr. Downing* and *Mr. Marshal*, publicly avowed, "that the Soldiers lately taken Prisoners
 " at *Brentford*, and discharged, and released by the
 " King upon their Oaths, that they would never
 " again bear Arms against him, were not obliged by
 " that Oaths;" but, by Their power, absolved them thereof, and so engaged again those miserable Wretches in a second Rebellion.

When the King discerned clearly that the Enemies to Peace had the better of him, and that there was now no farther thought of preparing Propositions to be sent to him; after he had seen a Line drawn about *Reading*, which he resolved to keep as a Garrison, and the works in a reasonable forwardness, he left Sir *Arthur Aston*, whom he had lately made Commissary General of the Horse (*Mr. Wilmot* being at the same time constituted Lieutenant General) Governor thereof, with a Garrison of above two thousand Foot, and a good Regiment of Horse: and himself with the rest of his Army marched to *Oxford*, where he resolved to rest that Winter, settling at the same time a good Garrison at *Wallingford*, a place of great importance within eight Miles of *Oxford*; another at the *Brill* upon the Edge of *Buckinghamshire*; a third being before settled at *Banbury*; *Abingdon* being the head Quarters for his Horse; and by this means he had all *Oxfordshire* entire, all *Berkshire*, but that barren division about *Windfor*; and from

The King
 having
 Garrisoned
Reading and
Wallingford,
 and some
 other places
 marches to
Oxford.

the *Brill*, and *Banbury*, a good influence upon B O O K
Buckinghamshire, and *Northamptonshire*. VI.

The King was hardly settled in his Quarters, when he heard that the Parliament was fixing a Garrison at *Marlborough* in *Wiltshire*, a Town the most notoriously disaffected of all that County; otherwise, saving the obstinacy and malice of the Inhabitants, in the Situation of it very unfit for a Garrison. Thither the Earl of *Essex* had sent one *Ramsay* (a Scotch man, as very many of their Officers were of that Nation) to be Governor; who, with the help of the Factious People there, had quickly drawn together five or six hundred Men. This place the King saw, would soon prove an ill Neighbour to him; not only as it was in the heart of a rich County, and so would straiten, and even infest his Quarters (for it was within twenty Miles of *Oxford*) but as it did cut off his Line of Communication with the West: And therefore, though it was *December*, a season, when his tired, and almost naked Soldiers might expect rest, he sent a strong Party of Horse, Foot, and Dragoons, under the Command of Mr. *Wilmot* the Lieutenant-General of his Horse, to visit that Town; who, coming thither on a *Saturday*, found the place strongly Manned: for, besides the Garrison, it being Market-day, very many Country-People came thither to buy and sell, and were all compelled to stay and take Arms for the defence of the place; which, for the most part, they were willing to do, and the People peremptory to defend it. Though there was no Line about it, yet there were some places of great advantage, upon which

Marlborough
 Garrisoned
 by the
 Parliament.

B O O K they had raised Batteries, and planted Cannon, and
VI. so Barricadoed all the Avenues, which were through deep narrow Lanes, that the Horse could do little service.

When the Lieutenant-General was, with his Party, near the Town, he apprehended a fellow who confessed upon Examination, “ that he was a Spy, and “ sent by the Governor to bring Intelligence of their “ strength and motion.” When all Men thought, and the poor fellow himself feared, he should be executed; the Lieutenant-General caused his whole Party to be ranged in order in the next convenient place, and bid the fellow look well upon them, and observe them, and then bid him return to the Town, and tell those that sent him, what he had seen, and withal that he should acquaint the Magistrates of the Town, “ that they should do well to treat with the “ Garrison, to give them leave to submit to the “ King; that if they did so, the Town should not “ receive the least prejudice: but if they compelled “ him to make his way, and enter the Town by “ force, it would not be in his power to keep his “ Soldiers from taking that which they should win “ with their Blood:” and so dismissed him. This generous Act proved of some advantage; for the fellow, transported with having his Life given him; and the Numbers of the Men he had seen, besides his no Experience in such fights, being multiplied by his fear, made notable relations of the Strength, Gallantry, and Resolution of the Enemy, and of the impossibility of resisting them; which, though it prevailed not with those in Authority to yield, yet

it strangely abated the hopes, and courage of the People. So that when the King's Soldiers fell on, after a Volley or two, in which much Execution was done, they threw down their Arms, and run into the Town; so that the Foot had time to make room for the Horse, who were now entered at both ends of the Town, yet were not so near an end as they expected; for the Streets were in many place Barricadoed, which were obstinately defended by some Soldiers and Towns-men, who killed many Men out of the Windows of the Houses; so that, it may be, if they had trusted only to their own strength, without compelling the Country-Men to increase their Number, and who being first frightened, and weary, disheartened their Companions, that place might have cost more Blood. *Ramsfey* the Governor was himself retired into the Church with some Officers, and from thence did some hurt; upon this, there being so many killed out of Windows, fire was put to the next Houses, so that a good part of the Town was burned, and then the Soldiers entered doing less Execution than could reasonably be expected; but, what they spared in Blood, they took in Pillage, the Soldiers inquiring little who were Friends or Foes

This was the first Garrison taken on either side; for *Farnham* Castle in *Surry*, whither some Gentlemen who were willing to appear for the King had repaired, and were taken with less resistance than was fit, by Sir *Willam Waller*, some few days before, deserved not the name of a Garrison. In this of *Marlborough* were taken, besides the Governor,

Marlborough
taken by the
King's Forces
under Lieute-
nant General
Wilmot.

BOOK VI. and other Officers, who yielded upon Quarter, above one thousand Prisoners; great stores of Arms, four pieces of Cannon, and a good quantity of Ammunition, with all which the Lieutenant-General returned safe to *Oxford*: Though this Success was a little shadowed, by the unfortunate loss of a very good Regiment of Horse within a few days after; for the Lord *Grandison*, by the miscarriage of Orders, was exposed, at too great a distance from the Army, with his single Regiment of Horse consisting of three hundred, and a Regiment of two hundred Dragoons, to the unequal encounter of a Party of the Enemy of five thousand Horse and Dragoons; and so was Himself, after a Retreat made to *Winchester*, there taken with all his Party; which was the first loss of that kind; the King sustained; but without the least fault of the Commander; and the misfortune was much lessened by his making an escape himself with two or three of his principal Officers, who were very welcome to *Oxford*.

The first thing the King applied himself to consult upon, after he was settled in his Winter-Quarters, and despaired of any honest Overtures for a Peace, was, how to apply some Antidote to that Poison, which was sent to *Scotland*, in that Declaration We mentioned before; the which he had not only seen, as an Act communicated abroad and in many hands, but the *Scottish* Earl of *Lindsey*, who was then a Commissioner Leiger at *London* for *Scotland*, had presented it to him. And there was every day some motion in the House of Commons to press the *Scots*, to invade the Kingdom for their assistance,

upon

upon the growth of the Earl of *New-Castle's* power in the North. And therefore, after full thoughts, the King writ to his Privy-Council of *Scotland* (who by the Laws enacted, when he was last there, had the Absolute, indeed Regal, Power of that Kingdom) and took notice of that Declaration, which had been sent to them, earnestly inviting, and in a manner challenging an Assistance from that his Native Kingdom of Men and Arms, for making a War against him, and making claim to that Assistance by virtue of the late Act of Pacification.

He told them, "that, as he was at his Soul afflicted, that it had been in the power of any factious, and ambitious, and malicious Persons, so far to possess the hearts of many of his Subjects of *England*, as to raise this miserable distemper, and distraction in this Kingdom against all his real endeavours and actions to the contrary; so he was glad, that That rage and fury had so far transported them, that they applied themselves, in so gross a manner, to his Subjects of *Scotland*; whose experience of his Religion, Justice, and Love of his People, would not suffer them to believe those horrid Scandals, laid upon his Majesty: and their Affection, Loyalty, and Jealousy of his Honor, would disdain to be made Instruments to oppress their native Sovereign, by assisting an odious Rebellion." He remembered them, "that he had from time to time acquainted his Subjects of that Kingdom with the Accidents, and Circumstances which had disquieted This; how, after all the acts of Justice, Grace, and Favor, performed on His

B O O K
VI.

The Substance of the King's, Message to the Privy-Council of Scotland, upon occasion of the two Houses Declaration to that Kingdom.

BOOK
VI.

“ part, which were or could be desired to make a
“ People completely happy, he was driven, by the
“ force and violence of rude and tumultuous Assem-
“ blies, from his City of *London*, and his Houses of
“ Parliament; how attempts had been made to im-
“ pose Laws upon his Subjects, without His con-
“ sent, and contrary to the foundation and consti-
“ tution of the Kingdom; how his Forts, Goods,
“ and Navy, had been seized, and taken from him
“ by force, and employed against him; his Revenue,
“ and ordinary Subsistence, wrested from him: How
“ he had been pursued with scandalous and re-
“ proachful Language; bold, false, and seditious Pas-
“ quils, and Libels, publicly allowed against him;
“ and had been told that he might, without want of
“ Modesty and Duty, be deposed: That after all
“ this, before any force raised by Him, an Army
“ was raised, and a General appointed to lead that
“ Army against his Majesty, with a Commission to
“ kill, slay, and destroy all such who should be
“ faithful to him: That when he had been, by these
“ means, compelled, with the Assistance of his
“ good Subjects, to raise an Army for his necessary
“ defence, he had sent divers gracious Messages,
“ earnestly desiring that the calamities, and miseries
“ of a Civil War might be prevented by a Treaty;
“ and so he might know the grounds of that mis-
“ understanding: That he was absolutely refused to
“ be treated with, and the Army (raised, as was
“ pretended, for the defence of his Person) brought
“ into the Field against him; gave him Battle; and,
“ though it pleased God to give his Majesty the

“ Victory, destroyed many of his good Subjects,
 “ with as eminent danger to his own Person, and
 “ his Children, as the skill and malice of desperate
 “ Rebels could contrive.

“ Of all which, and the other Indignities, which
 “ had been offered to him, he doubted not the Duty
 “ and Affection of his *Scottish* Subjects would have
 “ so just a resentment, that they would express to
 “ the world the sense they had of his sufferings :
 “ And, he hoped, his good Subjects of *Scotland*
 “ were not so great strangers to the affairs of this
 “ Kingdom, to believe that this misfortune and dis-
 “ traction was begot and brought upon him by his
 “ two Houses of Parliament; though, in truth, no
 “ unwarrantable Action against the Law could be
 “ justified even by That Authority; but that they
 “ well knew how the Members of both Houses had
 “ been driven thence, insomuch that, of above five
 “ hundred Members of the House of Commons,
 “ there were not then there above fourscore ; and,
 “ of above one hundred of the House of Peers,
 “ not above fifteen or sixteen ; all which were so
 “ awed by a multitude of *Anabaptists*, *Brownists*, and
 “ other Persons, desperate, and decayed in their
 “ fortunes, in and about the City of *London*, that,
 “ in truth, their consultations had not the Freedom
 “ and Privilege which belong to Parliaments.

“ Concerning any Commissions granted by his
 “ Majesty to Papists to raise Forces, he referred
 “ them to a Declaration, lately set forth by him
 “ upon the occasion of that scandal, which he like-
 “ wise then sent to them. And for his own true, and

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“ zealous affection to the Protestant Religion, he
 “ would give no other Instance than his own con-
 “ stant practice, on which Malice itself could lay
 “ no blemish; and those many Protestations he had
 “ made in the sight of Almighty God, to whom he
 “ knew he should be dearly accountable if he failed
 “ in the observation.

“ For that scandalous imputation of his intention
 “ of bringing in Foreign Forces, as the same was
 “ raised without the least shadow or color of reason,
 “ and solemnly disavowed by his Majesty, in many
 “ of his Declarations; so there could not be a clearer
 “ Argument to his Subjects of *Scotland* that he had
 “ no such thought, than that he had hitherto for-
 “ borne to require the Assistance of that his Native
 “ Kingdom; from whose Obedience, Duty, and
 “ Affection, he should confidently expect it, if he
 “ thought his own strength here too weak to pre-
 “ serve him; and of whose Courage, and Loyalty,
 “ he should look to make use, before he should
 “ think of any Foreign Aid to succour him. And he
 “ knew no reasonable or understanding Man could
 “ suppose that they were obliged, or enabled, by
 “ the late Act of Parliament in both Kingdoms, to
 “ obey the invitation that was made to them by
 “ that pretended Declaration, when it was so evi-
 “ dently provided for by that Act, that as the King-
 “ dom of *England* should not War against the King-
 “ dom of *Scotland*, without Consent of the Parlia-
 “ ment of *England*, so the Kingdom of *Scotland*
 “ should not make War against the Kingdom of
 “ *England*, without the Consent of the Parliament
 “ of *Scotland*.’

He told them, “if the grave Counsel and Advice,
 “which they had given, and derived to the Houses
 “of Parliament here, by their Act of the 22^d of
 “April last, had been followed in a tender care of
 “his Royal Person, and of his Princely Greatness
 “and Authority, there would not that face of Con-
 “fusion have appeared, which now threatened
 “this Kingdom: and therefore he required them to
 “Communicate what he then writ to all his Sub-
 “jects of that Kingdom, and to use their utmost
 “endeavours to inform them of the truth of his
 “Condition; and that they suffered not the Scan-
 “dals and Imputations laid on his Majesty by the
 “Malice and Treason of some Men, to make any
 “impression in the minds of his People, to the les-
 “sening or corrupting their Affections and Loyalty
 “to him; but that they assured them all, that the
 “hardness he then underwent, and the Arms he
 “had been compelled to take up, were for the de-
 “fence of his Person and safety of his Life; for the
 “maintenance of the true Protestant Religion, for
 “the preservation of the Laws, Liberties, and
 “Constitution of this Kingdom, and for the just
 “Privileges of Parliament; and that he looked no
 “longer for a blessing from Heaven, than he en-
 “deavoured the Defence and Advancement of all
 “these: And, He could not doubt, a dutiful con-
 “currence in his Subjects of *Scotland*, in the care
 “of his Honor, and just Rights, would draw down
 “a blessing upon that Nation too.”

Though his Majesty well knew all the Persons,
 to whom he directed this Letter, to be those who

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were only able and willing to do him all possible disservice, yet he was sure by other Instruments, if they neglected, which, for that reason, they were not like to do, to publish it to the People there; which he believed might so far operate upon them, as the others would not be able to procure them to invade *England*; and other fruit of their Allegiance he expected not, than that they should not Rebel.

What means
the King
then used to
raise Money.

His Majesty's next care was the procuring Money for the payment of his Army; that the narrow circuit which contained his Quarters, might not be so intolerably oppressed with that whole burden. This was a very difficult matter; for the Soldiery already grew very high, and would obey no Orders or Rules but of their own making; and Prince *Rupert* considered only the subsistence, and advance of the Horse, as His Province, and indeed as if it had been a Province apart from the Army; and therefore would by no means endure that the great contributions, which the Counties within command willingly submitted to, should be assigned to any other use than the support of the Horse, and to be immediately collected, and received by the Officers. So that the several Garrisons, and all the Body of Foot, were to be constantly paid, and his Majesty's weekly Expense for his House borne, out of such Monies as could be borrowed. For, of all his own Revenue, he had not yet the receiving a Penny within his power; neither did he think fit to compel any one, even such who were known to have contributed freely to the Parliament, to supply him: Only by Letters, and all other gentle ways, he invited those

who were able, to consider how much their own Security and Prosperity was concerned, and depended upon the preservation of His Rights; and offered to sell any of his Lands, or to give any Personal security for whatsoever Money would be lent to him at Interest: for he had directed a Grant to be prepared of several Parks, and Forests, and other Crown-Lands, to many Persons of Honor and great Fortune about him, whose Estates and Reputation were well known; who were ready to be Personally bound for whatsoever Sums could be borrowed.

The Affection of the University of *Oxford* was most eminent: For, as they had before, when the Troubles first broke out, sent the King above ten thousand pounds out of the several Stocks of the Colleges, and the Purfes of particular Persons, many whereof lent him all they had; so they now again made him a new Present. By these means, and the Loan of particular Persons, especially from *London* (for from thence, notwithstanding all the strict watch to the contrary, considerable Sums were drawn) The King, even above his hopes, was able to pay his Foot, albeit it amounted to above three thousand pounds weekly, in such manner, that, during the whole Winter, there was not the least disorder for want of pay. And then he used all possible care to encourage and countenance new Levies of Horse and Foot, for the recruiting his Army against the next Spring.

The Parliament's Army being now about *London*, the Officers of it who were Members of Parliament, attended that Council diligently, upon which that

BOOK
VI.

Army alone depended; and, though they still seemed very desirous of Peace, they very solemnly and severely prosecuted all those who really endeavoured it. Their partiality and injustice was so notorious, that there was no rule or measure of Right in any matter depending before them, but consideration only of the Affections and Opinions of the Persons contending; neither could any thing be more properly said of them, than what *Tacitus* once spoke of the *Jews*, *apud Ipsos fides obstinata, misericordia in promptu, adversus omnes alios hostile odium*. Volumes would not contain the instances. But they found the old Arguments of Popery, the Militia, and Delinquents, for the justification of the War, grew every day of less reverence with the People; and that as the King's own Religion was above any Scandal they could lay upon it, so the Regal Power seemed so asserted by Law, and the King, upon all occasions, cited particular Statutes for the Vindication of his Right, that whilst they confessed the Sovereign Power to be vested in him, all Legal Ministers had that dependance on him, that Their Authority would by degrees grow into Contempt.

The King
makes new
Sheriffs.

And of this disadvantage the season of the year put them in mind: for the King now, according to course, pricked Sheriffs, and made such choice in all Counties, that they foresaw the People were not like to be so implicitly at their disposal. Therefore, as they had before craftily insinuated the same in some particulars, they now barefaced avow, "that the Sovereign Power was wholly and entirely in them; and that the King himself, severed from

“ Them, had no Regal Power in him.” Their B O O K
Clergy had hitherto been their Champions, and VI.
wrested the Scripture to their sense; their Lawyers
were now to vindicate their Title, and they were
not more modest in applying Their Profession to
their Service. As all places of Scripture, or in the
Fathers, which were spoken of the Church of Christ,
are by the Papists applied to the Church of *Rome*;
so, whatsoever is written in any of the Books of the
Law, or mentioned in the Records, of the Autho-
rity and Effects of the Sovereign Power, and of the
Dignity and Jurisdiction of Parliament, was, by
these Men, alledged and urged for the Power of the
two Houses, and sometimes for the single Authority
of the House of Commons. Being supplied with the
Learning of these Gentlemen, they declared, “ that
“ the Sheriffs, then constituted by the King, were
“ not Legal Sheriffs, nor ought to execute, or be
“ submitted to in that Office;” and ordered, “ whom-
“ soever the King made Sheriff in any County, to
“ be sent for as Delinquent;” and because it seemed
unreasonable, that the Counties should be without
that Legal Minister, to whom the Law had intrusted
it’s Custody, it was proposed, “ that they might
“ make a new Great Seal, and by that Authority
“ make Sheriffs, and such other Officers as they
“ should find necessary; but for the present that Mo-
“ tion was laid aside.”

The King had appointed some of those Prisoners
who were taken in the Battle at *Keinton-Field*, and
others apprehended in the Act of Rebellion, to be
Indicted of High-Treason, upon the Statute of the

B O O K 25th year of King *Edward* the third, before the
VI. Lord Chief Justice, and other Learned Judges of the
Law, by Virtue of his Majesty's Commission of
Oyer and Terminer: The Parliament declared "all
" such Indictments and all Proceedings thereupon,
" to be unjust, and illegal;" and inhibited the
Judges to proceed farther therein; declaring (which
was a stronger Argument) "that if any Man were
" executed, or suffered hurt, for any thing he had
" done by Their Order, the like punishment should
" be inflicted, by death or otherwise, upon such
" Prisoners as were, or should be, taken by Their
" Forces:" And, in none of their cases, ever asked
the Judges what the Law was. By the determina-
tion of the Statute, and the King's refusal, which
hath been mentioned before, to pass any new Law
to that purpose, there was no farther duty of Ton-
nage and Poundage due upon Merchandize, and the
Statute made this very Parliament involved all Men
in the guilt and penalty of a *Præmunire*, who offered
to receive it. The King published a Proclamation
upon that Statute, and "required all Men to for-
" bear paying that duty, and forbid all to receive
" it." They again declared, "that no Person, who
" received those duties by Virtue of Their Orders,
" was within the danger of a *Præmunire*, or any
" other penalty whatsoever; because the intent, and
" meaning of that Penal clause was only to restrain
" the Crown from imposing any duty or payment
" upon the Subjects, without their consent in Par-
" liament; and was not intended to extend to any
" case whereunto the Lords and Commons give their
" assent in Parliament."

And that this Sovereignty might be farther taken notice of than within the Limits of this Kingdom, they sent, with all formality, Letters of Credence, and Instructions, and their Agents, into Foreign States, and Kingdoms.

By their Agent to the united Provinces, where the Queen was then residing, they had the Courage, in plain terms, to accuse the Prince of *Orange* “for
 “ supplying the King with Arms and Ammunition;
 “ for Licensing divers Commanders, Officers, and
 “ Soldiers, to resort into this Kingdom to his aid.”
 They remembered them “of the great help that they
 “ had received from this Kingdom, when heretofore they lay under the heavy oppression of their
 “ Princes; and how conducive the friendship of this
 “ Nation had been to their present greatness, and
 “ power; and therefore they could not think, that
 “ they would be forward to help to make Them
 “ Slaves, who had been so useful, and Assistant in
 “ making Them Free-men; or that they would
 “ forget, that their troubles and dangers issued from
 “ the same Fountain with their own; and that those
 “ who were set at work to undermine Religion,
 “ and Liberty in the Kingdom, were the same who
 “ by open force did seek to bereave Them of both.”
 They told them, “it could not be unknown to that
 “ wise State, that it was the Jesuitical Faction in this
 “ Kingdom, that had corrupted the Counsels of
 “ the King, the Consciences of a great part of the
 “ Clergy; which sought to destroy the Parliament,
 “ and had raised the Rebellion in *Ireland*.” They
 desired them therefore, “not to suffer any more

B O O K
VI.

The Substance
of the De-
claration of
the Lords
and Commons
to the States
General of
the united
Provinces.

BOOK VI. “ Ordnance, Armour, or any other Warlike Provision, to be brought over to strengthen those, who, as soon as they should prevail against the Parliament, would use that strength to the ruin of those from whom they had it.”

They desired them, “ they would not send over any of their Country-men to farther Their destruction, who were sent to them for their preservation, that they would not anticipate the spilling of *English* Blood, in an unnatural Civil War, which had been so cheerfully and plentifully hazarded, and spent, in that just and honorable War by which they had been so long preserved, and to which the Blood of those Persons, and many other Subjects of this Kingdom was still in a manner dedicated; but rather that they would cashier, and discard from their employment, those that would presume to come over for that purpose.” They told them, “ the question between his Majesty and the Parliament, was not whether he should enjoy the same Prerogative, and Power; which had belonged to their former Kings, his Majesty’s Royal Predecessors; but whether that Prerogative, and Power, should be employed to their defence, or to their ruin: That it could not be denied by those, who look indifferently on their Proceedings and Affairs, that it would be more honor, and wealth, safety and greatness to his Majesty, in concurring with his Parliament, than in the course in which he now is: But so unhappy had his Majesty, and the Kingdom been, in those who had the greatest influence upon his

“ Counfels, that they looked more upon the pre-
 “ vailing of their own Party, than upon any thofe
 “ great advantages both to his Crown, and Royal
 “ Perfon, which he might obtain by joining with
 “ his People: and fo cunning were thofe Factors
 “ for Popery, in profecution of their own aims,
 “ that they could put on a counterfeit Viſage of
 “ Honor, Peace, and Greatnefs, upon thofe courſes
 “ and counfels, which had no truth, and reality,
 “ but of Weaknefs, Diſhonor, and Miſeries to his
 “ Maſteſty, and the whole Kingdom.”

B O O K
 VI.

They ſaid, “ they had lately expreſſed their earneſt
 “ inclinations to that National love and amity with
 “ the United Provinces, which had been nourished
 “ and confirmed by ſo many civil reſpects, and
 “ mutual intereſts, as made it ſo natural to them,
 “ that they had, this Parliament, in their humble
 “ Petition to his Maſteſty, deſired, that they might
 “ be joined with that State in a more near and ſtrait
 “ League, and Union: And they could not but
 “ expect ſome returns from Them, of the like ex-
 “ preſſions: and that they would be ſo far from
 “ blowing the fire, which begun to kindle among
 “ them, that they would rather endeavour to quench
 “ it, by ſtrengthening and encouraging them who
 “ had no other deſign but not to be deſtroyed, and
 “ to preſerve their Religion, ſave themſelves, and
 “ the other Reformed Churches of *Chriſtendom*,
 “ from the Maſſacres and Extirpations, with which
 “ the Principles of the Roman Religion did threaten
 “ them all; which were begun to be acted in *Ireland*,
 “ and in the Hopes, and Endeavours, and Inten-

B O O K “ tions of that Party, had long since been executed
 VI. “ upon Them, if the Mercy, Favor, and Blessing of Almighty God, had not superabounded, and prevented the Subtlety and Malignity of cruel, wicked, and blood-thirsty Men.”

With this specious despatch, in which were many other particulars to render the King's cause ungracious, and their own very plausible, their Agent, one *Strickland*, an obscure Gentleman, was received by the States; and, notwithstanding the Queen was then there, and the Prince of *Orange* visibly inclined to assist the King with all his Interests, and the Interposition of the King's Resident, did not only hinder the States from giving the least countenance to the King's Cause, but really so corrupted the *English* in the Army, and in that Court, that there was nothing designed to advance it by the Prince of *Orange* himself (who with great generosity supplied the King with Arms and Ammunition to a very considerable Value) or by the private activity and dexterity of particular Persons, out of their own Fortune, or by the sale or pawning of Jewels, but intelligence was given soon enough to the Parliament, either to get stops, and seizures upon it, by Order of the State, or to intercept the supply by their Navy at Sea. So that much more was in that manner, and by that means, taken and intercepted at Sea, than ever arrived at any Port within his Majesty's obedience: of which at that time he had only one, the Harbour of *New-Castle*. With the same success, they sent another Agent to *Brussels*, who prevailed with *Don Francisco de Melos*, then Govern-

or of *Flanders*, to discountenance always, and sometimes to prevent the preparations which were there making by the King's Ministers. And in *France* they had another Agent, one *Aulgier*, a Man long before in the constant pay of the Crown; who though he was not received, and avowed (to put the better varnish upon their Professions to the King) by that Crown, did them more service than either of the other; by how much more that People had an influence upon the distempers of the Three Kingdoms.

And as the Parliament made all these addresses to Foreign States, and Princes, which no Parliament had ever done before, so it will be fit here to take notice how other Princes appeared concerned on the King's behalf. The *Spaniard* was sufficiently incensed by the King's reception of the Ambassadors of *Portugal*, and, which was more, entering into terms of Amity and League with that Crown, and had therefore contributed notable assistance to the Rebellion in *Ireland*; and sent both Arms, and Money thither. And, since the extravagances of this Parliament, the Ambassador of *Spain* had made great application to them.

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The Inclinations of Foreign Kings, and States, in this cause, between the King and Parliament.

The *French*, according to their Nature, were much more active, and more intent upon blowing the fire. The former commotions in *Scotland* had been raised by the special encouragement, if not contrivance of the Cardinal *Richelieu*; who had carefully kept up, and enlarged the old Franchises of the *Scots* under that Crown; which made a very specious show of wonderful grace and benefit, at a distance, to that Nation, and was of little burden

B O O K to the *French*; and, in truth, of little advantage
VI. to those who were in full possession of all those

Privileges. Yet, by this means, the *French* have always had a very great influence upon the Affections of that People, and opportunities to work great prejudice to that Crown: As nothing was more visible than that, by the Cardinal's Activity, all those late distempers in *Scotland* were carried on till his death, and, by His Rules and Principles, afterwards: The *French* Ministers always making their correspondence, with, and relation to those who were taken Notice to be of the *Puritan* Party; which was understood to be in order only to the opposition of those Counsels, which should at any time be offered on the behalf of *Spain*.

Since the beginning of this Parliament, the *French* Ambassador, Monsieur *la Ferté*, dissembled not to have notable familiarity with those who governed most in the two Houses; discovered to them whatsoever he knew, or could reasonably devise to the prejudice of the King's Counsels and Resolutions; and took all opportunities to lessen, and undervalue the King's Regal Power, by applying himself on public occasions of State, and in his Master's Name, and to improve his Interest, to the two Houses of Parliament (which had in no Age before been ever known) as in the business of Transportation of Men out of *Ireland*, before remembered; in which he caused, by the importunity of the two Houses, his Majesty's promise, and engagement to the *Spanish* Ambassador, to be rendered of no effect. And, after that, he formally exhibited, in writing, a Complaint

plaint to the two Houses against Sir *Thomas Rowe*, his Majesty's extraordinary Ambassador to the Emperor, and Princes of *Germany*, upon the Treaty of an accommodation on the behalf of the Prince Elector and restitution of the *Palatinate*, confidently avowing, "that Sir *Thomas Rowe* had offered, on " the King's part, to enter into a League Offensive " and Defensive with the House of *Austria*, and to " wed all their Interests;" and, in plain terms, asked them, "whether They had given Sir *Thomas* " instructions to that purpose?" expressing a great value his Master had of the Affection of the Parliament of *England*; which drew them to a return of much, and unusual civility, and to assure the *French* King, "that Sir *Thomas Rowe* had no such Instructions from Them; and that they would examine " the truth of it; and would be careful that nothing " should be done, and perfected in that Treaty " which might reflect upon the good of the *French* " King." Whereas in truth there was not the least ground, or pretence for that suggestion; Sir *Thomas Rowe* having never made any such offer, or any thing like it. And when, after his return out of *Germany*, he expostulated with the *French* Ambassador, for such an injurious, causeless information, he answered, "that his Master had received such " advertisement, and had given him order to do " what he did." So that it easily appeared, it was only a fiction of State, whereby they took occasion to publish, that they would take any opportunity to resort to the two Houses, and thereby to flatter them in their usurpation of any Sovereign Authority.

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There is not a sadder consideration than this Passion, and Injustice, in Christian Princes (and I pray God the Almighty Justice be not angry, on this account, with the Government of Kings, Princes, and States) that they are seldom so Solicitous that the Laws be executed, Justice administered, and Order performed within their own Kingdoms, as they are that all three may be disturbed, and confounded amongst their Neighbours. And there is no sooner a spark of Dissension, a discomposure in Affections, a jealousy in Understandings, discerned to be in a Neighbour-Province, or Kingdom, to the hazarding the Peace thereof. but they, though in League and Amity, with their utmost Art and Industry, make it their business to kindle that spark into a flame. and to contract and ripen all unsettled humors, and jealous Apprehensions. into a peremptory discontent, and all discontent to Sedition, and all Sedition to open and professed Rebellion. And they have rarely so ample satisfaction in their own greatness, or so great a sense and value of God's blessing upon them, as when they have been Instruments of drawing some notorious Calamity upon their Neighbours. As if the Religion of Princes were nothing but Policy, and that they considered nothing more, than to make all other Kingdoms but their own miserable: and because God hath reserved them to be tried only within his own Jurisdiction, and before his own Tribunal, that he means to try them too by other Laws, and Rules, than he hath published to the world for his Servants to walk by. Whereas they ought to consider, that God hath

placed them over his People as Examples, and to give countenance to his Laws by their own strict observation of them; and that as their Subjects are to be defended and protected by their Princes, so They themselves are to be assisted and supported by one another; the function of Kings being an Order by itself: and as a contempt and breach of every Law is, in the Policy of State, an Offence against the Person of the King, because there is a kind of violation offered to his Person in the transgression of that Rule without which he cannot govern; so the Rebellion of Subjects against their Prince ought to be looked upon, by all other Kings, as an Assault of their own Sovereignty, and, in some degree a design against Monarchy itself; and consequently to be suppressed, and extirpated, in what other Kingdom soever it is, with the like concernment as if it were in their own Bowels.

Besides these indirect Artifices, and Activity before-mentioned in the *French* Ambassador, very many of the *Hugonots* in *France* (with whom this Crown heretofore, it may be, kept too much correspondence) were declared Enemies to the King; and, in public, and in secret, gave all possible Assistance to those whose business was to destroy the Church. And as this animosity proved of unspeakable inconvenience and damage to the King, throughout all these troubles, and of equal benefit to his Enemies; so the occasion, from whence those disaffections grew, was very unskillfully and imprudently administered by the State here. Not to speak of the business of *Rochelle*, which, though it stuck

B O O K deep in all, yet most imputed the Counsels of that
VI. time to Men that were dead, and not to a fixed design of the Court; they had a greater Quarrel, which made them believe, that their very Religion was persecuted by the Church of *England*.

When the Reformation of Religion first begun in *England*, in the time of King *Edward* the sixth, very many, out of *Germany* and *France*, left their Countries, where the Reformation was severely persecuted, and transplanted Themselves, their Families, and Estates, into *England*, where they were received very hospitably, and that King, with great Piety and Policy, by several Acts of State. granted them many Indemnities, and the free use of Churches in *London* for the exercise of their Religion: whereby the number of them increased; and the benefit to the Kingdom, by such an access of Trade, and improvement of Manufactures, was very considerable. Which Queen *Elizabeth* finding, and well knowing that other notable uses of them might be made, enlarged their Privileges by new Concessions; drawing, by all means. great Numbers over, and suffering them to erect Churches, and to enjoy the exercise of their Religion after their own manner, and according to their own Ceremonies, in all places, where, for the conveniency of their Trade, they chose to reside. And so they had Churches in *Norwich*, *Canterbury*, and other places of the Kingdom, as well as in *London*; whereby the Wealth of those places marvellously increased. And besides the benefit from thence, the Queen made use of them in her great Transactions of State

in *France*, and the Low-Countries, and by the mediation and interposition of those People, kept an useful Interest in that Party, in all the Foreign Dominions where they were tolerated. The same Charters of Liberty were continued and granted to them, during the peaceable Reign of King *James*, and in the beginning of this King's Reign, although, it may be, the politic considerations in those Concessions, and Connivances, were neither made use of, nor understood.

Some few years before these Troubles, when the power of Church-Men grew more transcendent, and indeed the Faculties and Understanding of the Lay-Counsellors more dull, lazy, and unactive (for without the last, the first could have done no hurt) the Bishops grew jealous that the countenancing another Discipline of the Church here, by Order of the State (for those Foreign Congregations were governed by a Presbytery according to the Custom, and Constitution of those parts of which they had been Natives: the *French*, *Dutch*, and *Walloons*, had the free use of several Churches according to their own discipline) would at least diminish the Reputation and Dignity of the Episcopal Government, and give some countenance to the Faction, and Schismatical Party in *England* to hope for such a toleration.

Then there wanted not some fiery, turbulent, and contentious Persons of the same Congregations, who, upon private differences and contests, were ready to inform against their Brethren, and to discover, what, they thought, might prove of most

B O O K prejudice to them ; so that, upon pretence that they
VI. far exceeded the Liberties which were granted to them, and that, under the Notion of Foreigners, many *English* separated themselves from the Church, and joined themselves to those Congregations (which possibly was in part true) the Council-Board connived at, or interposed not, whilst the Bishops did some Acts of Restraint, with which those Congregations grew generally discontented, and thought the Liberty of their Consciences to be taken from them; which caused in *London* much complaining of this kind, but much more in the Diocese of *Norwich*; where Dr. *Wren*, the Bishop there, passionately, and warmly proceeded against them: so that many left the Kingdom, to the lessening the Wealthy Manufacture there of Kerseys, and narrow Cloths, and, which was worse, transporting that mystery into Foreign Parts.

And that this might be sure to look like more than what was necessary to the Civil Policy of the Kingdom, whereas, in all former times, the Ambassadors, and all Foreign Ministers of State, employed from *England* into any parts where the Reformed Religion was exercised, frequented their Churches, gave all possible Countenance to their profession, and held correspondence with the most active, and powerful Persons of that relation, and particularly, the Ambassador Liger at *Paris* had diligently, and constantly frequented the Church at *Charenton*, and held a fair intercourse with those of that Religion throughout the Kingdom, by which they had still received advantage, that People being

industrious and active to get into the secrets of the State, and so deriving all necessary Intelligence to those whom they desired to gratify: The contrary to this was now with great industry practised, and some advertisements, if not instructions, given to the Ambassadors there, “to forbear any extraordinary commerce with the Men of that profession.”

And the Lord *Scudamore*, who was the last Ordinary Ambassador there, before the beginning of this Parliament, whether by the Inclinations of his own Nature, or by advice from others, not only declined going to *Charenton*, but furnished his own Chapel, in his House, with such Ornaments (as Candles upon the Communion-Table and the like) as gave great offence, and umbrage to those of the Reformation there, who had not seen the like; besides that he was careful to publish, upon all occasions, by himself, and those who had the nearest relation to him, “that the Church of *England* looked not “on the *Hugonots* as a part of their Communion;” which was likewise too much, and too industriously discoursed at home.

They of the Church of *England* who committed the greatest errors this way, had, undoubtedly, not the least thoughts of making alterations in it towards the countenancing of Popery as hath been uncharitably conceived: But (having too just cause given them to dislike the Passion, and Licence, that was taken by some Persons in the Reformed Churches, under the Notion of Conscience, and Religion, to the disturbance of the Peace of Kingdoms) unskillfully believed, that the Total decli-

BOOK VI. ning the Interest of that Party, where it exceeded the necessary bounds of Reformation, would make this Church of *England* looked upon with more reverence; and that thereby the Common Adversary, the Papist, would abate somewhat of his arrogance, and superciliousness; and that both Parties, piously considering the Charity which Religion should beget, might, if not unite, yet refrain from the bitterness, and uncharitableness of Contention in matters of opinion, and agree in the practical duties of Christians and Subjects. Thus, contracting their considerations in too narrow a compass, these Men contented themselves with their Pious Intentions, without duly weighing objections, or the circumstances of Policy. And some of our own Communion, who differed with them in opinion in this point, though they were in the right, not giving, and, it may be, not knowing the right reasons, rather confirmed than reformed them in their Inclinations: Neither of them discerning the true, and substantial grounds of that Policy, upon which that good correspondence had been founded, which they were now about to change: And so the Church of *England*, not giving the same Countenance to those of the Religion in Foreign Parts, which it had formerly done, no sooner was discerned to be under a Cloud at home; but those of the Religion abroad, were glad of the occasion to publish their malice against her, and to enter into the same conspiracy against the Crown, without which they could have done little hurt to the Church.

Now, to return to the Course of our History;

After all discourses and motions for Peace were, for a time, laid aside; and new thoughts of Victory, and utterly subduing the King's Party, again entertained; they found one trouble falling upon them which they had least suspected, want of Money; all their vast Sums collected, upon any former Bills, passed by the King for the relief of *Ireland*, and payment of the debt to the *Scots*, and all their Money upon Subscriptions of Plate, and Loans upon the public Faith, which amounted to incredible proportions, were even quite wasted; and their constant expence was so great, that no Ordinary supply would serve their turn; and they easily discerned, that their Money only, and not their Cause, procured them Soldiers of all kinds; and that They could never support their Power, if their Power was not able to supply Them. All voluntary Loans were at an end, and the public Faith thought a security not to be relied on, and by how much greater the difficulty was, by so much the more fatal would the sinking under it prove; and therefore it was with the more Vigor to be resisted. In the end, they resolved upon the thorough execution of their full Sovereign Power, and to let the People see what they might trust to; in which it is necessary to observe the Arts, and Degrees of their motion.

They first ordered, "that Committees should be
 " named in all Counties, to take care for Provisions
 " of Victuals for the Army, and also for the taking
 " up of Horses for service in the Field. Dragoons
 " and draught Horses, and for borrowing of Money
 " and Plate to supply the Army: and upon Certifi-

New ways of
 raising Money
 by the two
 Houses.

B O O K VI. "cate from those Committees" (who had power to set what Value or Rates they pleased upon these Provisions of any kind) "the same should be entered with their Treasurer, who should hereafter repay the same. It was then alledged, that this would only draw supplies from their friends, and the well affected; and that others, who either liked not their proceedings, or loved their Money better than the Liberty of their Country, would not contribute." Upon this it was ordered, "that in case the Owners refused to bring in Money, Provisions, Plate, and Horse, upon the public Faith, for the use of the Army; for the better preventing the spoil, and embezzling of such Provisions of Money, Plate, and Horses, by the disorder of the Soldiers, and that they may not come into the hands of the Enemies, that the Committees, or any two of them, should be authorized, and enabled to lend for such Provisions, Money, Plate, and Horses; and to take the same into their Custody, and to set indifferent value and rate upon them; which value they should certify to the Treasurers, for the proportions to be repaid at such time, and in such manner, as should be ordered by both Houses of Parliament.

This was done only to show what they meant to do over all *England*, and as a stock of credit to them. For at present it would neither supply their wants; neither was it seasonable for them, or indeed possible to endeavour the execution of it in many Counties. *London* was the place from whence only their present help must come. To them therefore they de-

clared, " that the King's Army had made divers Assess-
 " ments upon several Counties, and the Subjects
 " were compelled, by the Soldiers, to pay the same;
 " which Army, if it continued, would soon ruin,
 " and waste the whole Kingdom; and overthrow
 " Religion, Law, and Liberty: That there was no
 " probable way, under God, for the suppressing
 " that Army, and other ill affected Persons, but by
 " the Army raised by the Authority of the Parlia-
 " ment; which Army could not be maintained,
 " without great Sums of Money; and for raising
 " such Sums, there could be no Act of Parliament
 " passed with his Majesty's Assent, albeit there was
 " great Justice that such Money should be raised:
 " That, hitherto, the Army had been, for the most
 " part, maintained by the voluntary contributions
 " of well affected People, who had freely contribu-
 " ted according to their Abilities: That there were
 " divers others within the Cities of *London* and *West-*
 " *minster*, and the Suburbs, that had not contributed
 " at all towards the maintenance of that Army, or if
 " they had yet not answerable to their Estates; who
 " notwithstanding received benefit, and Protection
 " by the same Army, as well as any others; and
 " therefore it was most just, that They should, as
 " well as others, be charged to contribute to the
 " maintenance thereof.

Upon these grounds, and reasons, it was ordained
 " by the Authority of Parliament, that *Isaac Pen-*
 " *nington*, the then Lord Mayor of *London*, and
 " some other Aldermen, and Citizens, or any four
 " of them, should have Power and Authority to

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“ Nominate, and Appoint, in every Ward, within
 “ the City of *London* six such Persons as they should
 “ think fit, who should have power to inquire of
 “ all who had not contributed upon the Propositions
 “ concerning the raising of Money, Plate, &c. and
 “ of such able Men, who had contributed, yet not
 “ according to their Estates, and Abilities; and
 “ those Persons so substituted, or any four of them,
 “ within their several Wards and Limits, should
 “ have power to Assess all Persons of Ability who
 “ had not contributed, and also those who had con-
 “ tributed, yet not according to their Ability, to
 “ pay such Sums of Money, according to their
 “ Estates, as the Assessors, or any four of them should
 “ think reasonable, so as the same exceeded not the
 “ twentieth part of their Estates; and to nominate
 “ fit Persons for the receipt thereof. And if any Per-
 “ son so Assessed should refuse to pay the Money so
 “ Assessed upon him, it should be Lawful for the
 “ Assessors, and Collectors, to levy that Sum by way
 “ of distress, and sale of the goods of Persons so re-
 “ fusing. And if any Person distrained should make
 “ resistance, it should be Lawful for the Assessors,
 “ and Collectors, to call to their Assistance any of
 “ the Trained-bands of *London*, or any other of his
 “ Majesty’s Subjects; who were required to be aid-
 “ ing, and assisting to them. The Burgesses of *West-*
 “ *minster*, and *Southwark*, and a Committee ap-
 “ pointed to that purpose, were to do the same
 “ within those Limits, as the other in *London*.

And that there might be no stratagem to avoid this
 Tax (so strange and unlooked for) by a second Ordi-

nance in explanation of the former, They ordained,
 “ that, if no sufficient distress could be found for the
 “ payment of what should be Assessed, the Collec-
 “ tors should have power to inquire of any Sum of
 “ Money due to those Persons so Assessed, from
 “ what Persons soever, for Rents, Goods, or Debts,
 “ or for any other thing, or cause whatsoever. And
 “ the Collectors had power to receive all such Debts,
 “ until the full Value of the Sums so Assessed, and
 “ the Charges in levying or recovering the same
 “ should be satisfied: and lest the discovery of those
 “ Debts might be difficult, the same Collectors had
 “ power to compound for any Rents, Goods, or
 “ Debts, due to such Persons so Assessed, with any
 “ Person by whom the same was due, and to give
 “ full discharges for the Money so compounded for,
 “ which should be good and effectual to all purposes.
 “ And if the Money Assessed could not be levied by
 “ any of these ways, then the Persons Assessed should
 “ be imprisoned in such places of the Kingdom,
 “ and for so long time, as the Committee of the
 “ House of Commons for examinations should ap-
 “ point, and order; and the Families of all such
 “ Persons so imprisoned should no longer remain
 “ within the Cities of *London*, or *Westminster*, the
 “ Suburbs, or the Counties adjacent. And all Asses-
 “ sors, and Collectors, should have the protection
 “ of both Houses of Parliament, for their Indemnity
 “ in that Service, and receive allowance for their
 “ pains, and charges ” Several additional, and ex-
 planatory Orders they made for the better execution
 of this grand one, by every of which some clause of

B O O K severity, and monstrous irregularity was added, and
VI. for the complement of all, they ordered that themselves, the Members of either House, should not be Affected by any but themselves.

The truth is, the King was not sorry to see this Ordinance, which he thought so prodigious, that he should have been a greater Gainer by it than they that made it; seeing it was so palpable, and clear a demonstration of the Tyranny the People were to live under, that they would easily have discerned the change of their condition: yet he took so much pains, to awaken his Subjects to a due apprehension of it, and to apply the thorough consideration of it to them, that he published a Declaration upon that Ordinance; the which, presenting many things to them, which have since fallen out, may be, in this place, fit to be inserted in the King's own words, which were these:

His Majesty's
 Declaration
 upon occasion
 of the former
 Ordinance.

“ It would not be believed (at least great pains
 “ have been taken that it might not) that the pre-
 “ tended Ordinance of the Militia (the first attempt
 “ that ever was, to make a Law by Ordinance, with-
 “ out Our consent) or the keeping Us out of *Hull*,
 “ and taking Our Arms and Ammunition from Us,
 “ could any way concern the Interest, Property, or
 “ Liberty of the Subject: And it was confessed, by
 “ that desperate Declaration itself of the 26th of *May*,
 “ that if they were found guilty of that charge of
 “ destroying the Title and Interest of Our Subjects
 “ to their Lands, and Goods, it were indeed a very
 “ great crime. But it was a strange fatal Lethargy
 “ which had seized Our good People, and kept

“ them from discerning that the Nobility . Gentry ,
 “ and Commonalty of *England* , were not only
 “ stripped of their Pre-eminences, and Privileges but
 “ of their Liberties, and Estates, when Our just
 “ Rights were denied Us ; and that no Subject could
 “ from thenceforth expect to dwell at home, when
 “ We were driven from Our Houses, and Our
 “ Towns. It was not possible, that a Commission
 “ could be granted to the Earl of *Essex* to raise an
 “ Army against Us, and, for the safety of Our Per-
 “ son, and preservation of the Peace of the Kingdom,
 “ to pursue, kill, and slay Us, and all who wish well
 “ to Us : But that, in a short time, inferior Com-
 “ manders, by the same Authority, would require
 “ Our good Subjects, for the maintenance of the
 “ property of the Subject, to supply them with such
 “ Sums of Money as they think fit, upon the penalty
 “ of being plundered with all extremity of War (as
 “ the Title of Sir *Edward Bainton’s* Warrant runs
 “ against Our poor Subjects in *Wiltshire*) and by
 “ such Rules of unlimited Arbitrary Power as are in-
 “ consistent with the least pretence or shadow of that
 “ property, it would seem to defend.

“ If there could be yet any Understanding so
 “ unskilful and supine to believe, that these Dis-
 “ turbers of the Public Peace do intend any thing
 “ but a general Confusion, they have brought them
 “ a sad argument to their own doors to convince
 “ them After this Ordinance and Declaration, it
 “ is not in any sober Man’s power to believe him-
 “ self to be worth any thing, or that there is such a
 “ thing as Law, Liberty, or Property, left in *Eng-*

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“ *land*, under the jurisdiction of these Men. And the
 “ same power that robs them now of the twentieth
 “ part of their Estates, hath, by that, but made
 “ a claim, and entitled itself to the other nineteen,
 “ when it shall be thought fit to hasten the general
 “ Ruin. Sure, if the minds of all Men be not stub-
 “ bornly prepared for Servitude, they will look on
 “ this Ordinance, as the greatest Prodigy of Arbi-
 “ trary Power and Tyranny, that any Age hath
 “ brought forth in any Kingdom. Other Grievances
 “ (and the greatest) have been conceived intolerable,
 “ rather by the Logic and Consequence, than
 “ by the pressure itself: This, at once sweeps away
 “ all that the Wisdom, and Justice of Parliaments
 “ have provided for them. Is their Property in their
 “ Estates (so carefully looked to by their Ancestors,
 “ and so amply established by Us, against any possi-
 “ bility of Invasion from the Crown) which makes
 “ the meanest Subject as much a Lord of his own as
 “ the greatest Peer, to be valued, or considered?
 “ Here is a twentieth part of every Man’s Estate, or
 “ so much as four Men will please to call the twen-
 “ tieth part, taken away at once, and yet a power
 “ left to take a twentieth still of that which remains:
 “ and this to be levied by such circumstances of Se-
 “ verity, as no Act of Parliament ever consented to.
 “ Is their Liberty, which distinguishes Subjects
 “ from Slaves, and in which this Freeborn Nation
 “ hath the advantage of all *Christendom*, dear to
 “ them? They shall not only be imprisoned in such
 “ places of this Kingdom (a latitude of Judgment no
 “ Court can challenge to itself in any Cases) but for

" so long time, as the Committee of the House of
 " Commons for examination shall appoint and
 " order: The House of Commons itself having
 " never assumed, or in the least degree pretended
 " to, a power of Judicature; having no more Au-
 " thority to administer an Oath, the only way to dis-
 " cover and find out the truth of Facts, than to cut off
 " the Heads of any of Our Subjects: And this Com-
 " mittee being so far from being a part of the Parlia-
 " ment, that it is destructive to the Whole, by usur-
 " ping to itself all the power of King, Lords, and
 " Commons. All who know any thing of Parlia-
 " ments know that a Committee of either House
 " ought not, by the Law, to publish their own Re-
 " sults; neither are their conclusions of any Force,
 " without the confirmation of the House, which
 " hath the same power of Controlling them, as if
 " the matter had never been debated. But that any
 " Committee should be so contracted (as this of Exa-
 " mination, a style no Committee ever bore before
 " this Parliament) as to exclude the Members of the
 " House, who are equally trusted by their Country,
 " from being present at the Counsels, is so monstrous
 " to the Privileges of Parliament, that it is no more
 " in the power of any Man to give up that Freedom,
 " than of himself to order, that, from that time,
 " the place for which he Serves shall never more send
 " a Knight or Burgefs to the Parliament; and in
 " truth is no less than to alter the whole frame of
 " Government, to pull up Parliaments by the Roots,
 " and to commit the Lives, Liberties, and Estates,
 " of all the People of *England* to the Arbitrary power

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" of a few unqualified Persons , who shall dispose thereof according to their discretion , without account to any Rule or Authority whatsoever.

" Are their Friends, their Wives , and Children , the greatest blessings of Peace , and Comforts of Life. precious to them ? Would their penury, and imprisonment be less grievous by those Cordials ? They shall be divorced from them, banished, and shall no longer remain within the Cities of *London*, and *Westminster* , the Suburbs and the Counties adjacent , and how far those adjacent Counties shall extend no Man knows. Is there now any thing left to enjoy but the Liberty , to Rebel, and destroy one another ? Are the outward blessings only of Peace, Property, and Liberty, taken and forced from our Subjects ? Are their Consciences free and unassaulted by the Violence of these Fire-brands ? Sure the Liberty and Freedom of Conscience cannot suffer by these Men. Alas ! all these punishments are imposed upon them, because they will not submit to Actions contrary to their natural Loyalty, to their Oaths of Allegiance, and Supremacy , and to their late voluntary Protestation, which obliges them to the care of our Person, and our just Rights.

" How many Persons of Honor , Quality , and Reputation , of the several Counties of *England* , are now imprisoned, without any objections against them , but suspicion of their Loyalty ? How many of the gravest , and most substantial Citizens of *London*, by whom the Government and Discipline of that City was preserved , are disgraced robbed,

“ and imprisoned, without any Process of Law, or
“ Color of Accusation, but of obedience to the
“ Laws, and Government of the Kingdom? Whilst
“ *Anabaptists*, and *Brownists*, with the Assistance of
“ vicious and debauched Persons of desperate For-
“ tunes, take upon them to break up and rifle Houses,
“ as public and avowed Ministers of a new-invented
“ Authority. How many Godly, Pious, and Painful
“ Divines, whose Lives and Learning have made
“ them of Reverend Estimation, are now slandered
“ with inclination to Popery, discountenanced, and
“ imprisoned, for discharging their Consciences, in-
“ structing the People in the Christian duty of Re-
“ ligion and Obedience? Whilst Schismatical, Illite-
“ rate, and Scandalous Preachers, fill the Pulpits
“ and Churches with Blasphemy, Irreverence, and
“ Treason; and incite their Auditory to nothing but
“ Murder, and Rebellion.

“ We pass over the Vulgar Charm, by which
“ they have captivated such who have been con-
“ tented to dispense with their Consciences for the
“ Preservation of their Estates, and by which they
“ persuade Men cheerfully to part with this twentieth
“ part of their Estates to the good work in hand. For
“ whosoever will give what he hath may escape
“ Robbing. They shall be repaid upon the Public
“ Faith, as all other Monies lent upon the Proposi-
“ tions of Both Houses. It may be so. But Men must
“ be condemned to a strange unthriftiness, who will
“ lend upon such Security. The Public Faith indeed
“ is as great an earnest as the State can give, and en-
“ gages the Honor, Reputation, and Honesty of

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“ the Nation , and is the Act of the Kingdom : It is
 “ the Security of the King , the Lords , and Com-
 “ mons, which can never need an Executor , can
 “ never die , never be bankrupt ; and therefore We
 “ willingly consented to it for the indemnity of Our
 “ good Subjects of *Scotland* (who , We hope , will
 “ not think the worse of it for being so often , and
 “ so cheaply mentioned since) But that a Vote of
 “ One , or Both Houses , should be an Engagement
 “ upon the Public Faith . is as impossible , as that
 “ the Committee of the House of Commons for Exa-
 “ minations should be the High Court of Parliament
 “ And what is , or can be said , with the least
 “ shadow of Reason , to justify these extravagancies ?
 “ We have not heard lately of the fundamental Laws,
 “ which used to Warrant the Innovations : these
 “ need a refuge even below those foundations. They
 “ will say , they cannot manage their great Under-
 “ takings without such extraordinary ways. We
 “ think so too. But that proves only , they have
 “ undertaken somewhat they ought not to under-
 “ take , not that it is lawful for them to do any thing
 “ that is convenient for those ends. We remembered
 “ them long ago , and We cannot do it too often ,
 “ of that excellent Speech of Mr. *Pym*’s , The Law
 “ is that which puts a difference betwixt Good and
 “ Evil , Just and Unjust : If you take away the Law ,
 “ all things will be in a confusion , every Man will
 “ become a Law unto himself ; which , in the
 “ depraved condition of human Nature , must needs
 “ produce many great Enormities. Lust will become
 “ a Law , and Envy will become a Law , Covetousness

“ and Ambition will become Laws; and what
 “ dictates, what decision such Laws will produce
 “ may easily be discerned It may indeed by sad In-
 “ stances over the whole Kingdom.

“ But will Posterity believe, that, in the same
 “ Parliament, this Doctrine was avowed with that
 “ Acclamation, and these Instances after produced ?
 “ That in the same Parliament, such care was taken
 “ that no Man should be committed in what case
 “ soever, without the cause of his imprisonment
 “ expressed; and that all Men should be immediately
 “ Bailed in all cases Bailable; and, during the same
 “ Parliament, that Alderman *Pennington*, or indeed
 “ any body else, but the sworn Ministers of Justice,
 “ should imprison whom they would, and for what
 “ they would, and for as long time as they would ?
 “ That the King should be reproached with breach
 “ of Privilege, for accusing Sir *John Hotham* of High-
 “ Treason, when with force of Arms he kept him
 “ out of *Hull*, and despised him to his face, because
 “ in no case a Member of either House might be com-
 “ mitted, or accused without leave of that House of
 “ which he is a Member; and yet that during the
 “ same Parliament, the same Alderman shall commit
 “ the Earl of *Middlesex*, a Peer of the Realm, and
 “ the Lord *Buckhurst*, a Member of the House of
 “ Commons, to the Counter, without reprehension ?
 “ That to be a Traytor (which is defined, and every
 “ Man understands) should be no crime, and to be
 “ called Malignant, which no body knows the
 “ meaning of, should be ground enough for close
 “ imprisonment ? That a Law should be made, that

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“ whosoever should presume to take Tonnage and
 “ Poundage without an Act of Parliament, should
 “ incur the penalty of a Præmunire, and, in the same
 “ Parliament, that the same imposition should be
 “ laid upon Our Subjects, and taken by Order of
 “ both Houses, without, and against Our consent?
 “ Lastly, that, in the same Parliament, a Law should
 “ be made to declare the Proceedings, and Judge-
 “ ment upon Ship-money to be illegal, and void;
 “ and, during that Parliament, that an Order of
 “ both Houses shall, upon pretence of necessity,
 “ enable four Men to take away the twentieth part
 “ of their Estates from all their Neighbours, accord-
 “ ing to their discretion.

“ But Our good Subjects will no longer look
 “ upon these and the like results, as upon the Counsels
 “ and Conclusions of both Our Houses of Parliament
 “ (though all the world knows, even That Authority
 “ can never justify things unwarrantable by the Law)
 “ They well know how few of the Persons trusted
 “ by them, are trusted at Their consultations, of
 “ above five hundred of the Commons not four-
 “ score: and of the House of Peers, not a fifth part:
 “ That they who are present enjoy not the Privilege
 “ and Freedom of Parliament, but are besieged by
 “ an Army, and awed by the same Tumults which
 “ drove Us, and their fellow Members from thence,
 “ to consent to what some few seditious, schismatical
 “ Persons among them do propose. These are the
 “ Men, who joining with the *Anabaptists*, and
 “ *Brownists* of *London*, first changed the Government
 “ and discipline of that City; and now, by the pride

“ and power of that City, would undo the Kingdom: B O O K
 “ whilst their Lord Mayor, a Person accused and VI.
 “ known to be guilty; of High-Treason, by a
 “ new Legislative Power of his own, suppresses,
 “ and reviles the Book of Common-Prayer, robs and
 “ imprisons whom he thinks fit; and, with the Rabble
 “ of his Faction, gives Laws to both Houses of
 “ Parliament, and tells them, *They will have no*
 “ *Accommodation*: whilst the Members sent, and in-
 “ trusted by their Counties, are expelled the House,
 “ or committed, for refusing to take the Oath of
 “ Association to live and die with the Earl of *Essex*, as
 “ very lately Sir *Sidney Mountague*. These are the
 “ Men who have presumed to send Ambassadors,
 “ and to enter into Treaties with Foreign States in
 “ their own behalfs, having at this time an Agent of
 “ their own with the States of *Holland*, to negotiate
 “ for them upon private Instructions: These are the
 “ Men who not thinking they have yet brought
 “ Mischief enough unto this Kingdom, at this time
 “ invite, and solicit Our Subjects of *Scotland*, to
 “ enter this Land with an Army against Us: In a
 “ word, these are the Men who have made this last
 “ devouring Ordinance to take away all Law,
 “ Liberty, and Property from our People, and have
 “ by it really acted that upon our People, which with
 “ infinite Malice, and no Color, or Ground, was
 “ labored to be infused into them, to have been
 “ Our intention by the Commissions of Array.

“ We have done: What Power and Authority
 “ these Men have, or will have, We know not:
 “ For Ourselves, We challenge none such. We look

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“ upon the Pressures and Inconveniencies our good
 “ Subjects bear even by Us, and Our Army (which
 “ the Army first raised by them enforced Us to raise
 “ in Our defence, and their refusal of all offers and
 “ desires of Treaty enforceth Us to keep) with very
 “ much sadness of heart. We are so far from requiring
 “ a twentieth part of their Estates, though for their
 “ own visible preservation, that, as We have already
 “ sold or pawned our own Jewels, and Coined our
 “ own Plate, so We are willing to sell all our own
 “ Lands and Houses for their relief: Yet We do
 “ not doubt but Our good Subjects will seriously
 “ consider Our condition, and their own duties, and
 “ think our readiness to protect them with the utmost
 “ hazard of our Life, deserves their readiness to
 “ assist Us with some part of Their fortunes; and
 “ whilst other Men give a twentieth part of their
 “ Estates to enable them to forfeit the other nineteen,
 “ that they will extend themselves to Us in a liberal,
 “ and free proportion, for the preservation of the
 “ rest, and for the maintenance of God's true Reli-
 “ gion, the Laws of the Land, the Liberty of the
 “ Subject, and the Safety, and very Being of Parlia-
 “ ments, and this Kingdom: For if all these ever
 “ were, or can be, in manifest danger, it is now in
 “ this present Rebellion against Us.

“ Lastly, We will and require all Our loving
 “ Subjects, of what degree or quality soever, as
 “ they will Answer it to God, to Us, and to Pos-
 “ terity, by their Oaths of Allegiance, and Supre-
 “ macy; as they would not be looked upon now,
 “ and remembered hereafter, as Betrayers of the

“ Laws and Liberties they were born to; that they
“ in no degree submit to this wild pretended Or-
“ dinance, and that they presume not to give any
“ Encouragement, or Assistance to the Army now
“ in Rebellion against Us; which if notwithstanding
“ they shall do, they must expect from Us the
“ severest punishment the Law can inflict, and a per-
“ petual Infamy with all good Men.”

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Whatsoever every Man could say to another against that Ordinance, and whatsoever the King said to them all against it, it did bring in a great supply of Money, and gave them a stock of Credit to borrow more; so that the Army was again drawn out, though but to Winter-Quarters, twenty Miles from *London*, and the Earl of *Essex* fixed his head Quarters at *Windſor*, to straiten the King's new Garrison at *Reading*, and sent strong Parties still abroad, which got as much ground as, at that time of the year, could reasonably be expected; that is, brought those adjacent Counties entirely under the obedience of the Parliament, which would at least have kept themselves Neutral: And still persuaded the People, “ that their work was even at an end,
“ and that the King's Forces would be swallowed up
“ in a very short time:” so that there was no day, in which they did not publish themselves to have obtained some notable Victory, or taken some Town, when in truth each Party wisely abstained from disturbing the other: Yet the Bulk of their supply came only from the City of *London*. For though their Ordinance extended over the whole Kingdom, they had power to execute it only there;

B O O K for it was not yet time to try the Affections of all places within their own Verge, with the severe exercise of that Authority.

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And therefore divers of the Wealthiest and most Substantial Citizens of *London*, observing liberty to be taken by all Men to Petition the Houses, and the Multitude of the Petitioners to carry great Authority with them, and from those Multitudes and that Authority, the brand to have been laid upon the City, “of being an Enemy to Peace,” met together, and prepared a very modest and moderate Petition to the Houses; in which they desired “such Propositions and Addresses might be made by Them to his Majesty, as he might with his Honor comply with, and thereby a happy Peace ensue;” which, being signed by many thousand hands, was ready to be presented, but was not received by the House of Commons, for no other reason publicly given, but “that it was prepared by a Multitude;” and objections were framed against the principal Promoters of it, upon other pretences of Delinquency; so that they were compelled to forsake the Town, and that Party were, for the present, discountenanced.

At the same time the Inhabitants of *Westminster*, *St. Martin’s*, and *Covent-Garden*, who always underwent the Imputation of being well affected to the King, prepared the like Petition, and met with the same reproach, being strictly inhibited to approach the Houses with more than six in Company. This unequal kind of proceeding added nothing to their reputation, and they easily discerned those humors,

thus obstructed, would break out the more violently: therefore they again resumed all professions of a desire of Peace, and appointed a Committee to prepare Propositions to be sent to the King to that purpose; and because they found that would be a work of time (for the reasons which will be anon remembered) and that many Arts were to be applied to the several affections, and to wipe out the imagination that the City desired Peace upon any other Terms than They did, and the disadvantage that accrued to them by such imagination, and also to stay the appetite of those who were importunate to have any advance made towards Peace, having procured, by the Activity of their Agents and Ministers, to have such a Common-Council chosen for the City, as would undoubtedly comply with their desires and designs, they underhand directed their own Mayor to engage that Body in such a Petition to his Majesty, as, carrying the sense and reputation of the whole City, might yet signify nothing to the prejudice of the two Houses; and so a Petition was framed in these words:

To the King's most Excellent Majesty;

*The humble Petition of the Mayor, Aldermen, and
Commons of the City of London.*

A Petition
of the City
to the King.

" Sheweth,

" That the Petitioners, your Majesty's most
" humble and Loyal Subjects, being much pierced
" with the long and great divisions between your
" Majesty and both your Houses of Parliament, and
" with the sad and bloody effects thereof, both

B O O K “ here, and in *Ireland* are yet more deeply wounded
VI. “ by the misapprehension, which your Majesty
“ seemeth to entertain of the Love and Loyalty of
“ this your City, as if there were some cause of
“ fear, or suspicion of danger to your Royal Person
“ if your Majesty should return hither; and that
“ this is made the unhappy bar to that blessed Re-
“ conciliation with your Great and most Faithful
“ Council for preventing that desolation, and de-
“ struction, which is now most apparently imminent
“ to your Majesty, and all your Kingdoms.
“ For satisfaction therefore of your Majesty, and
“ clearing of the Petitioners innocency, they most
“ humbly declare, as formerly they have done,
“ That they are no way conscious of any disloyalty,
“ but abhor all thoughts thereof; and that they
“ are resolved to make good their late solemn Pro-
“ testation, and sacred Vow, made to Almighty
“ God; and, with the last drop of their dearest
“ bloods, to defend, and maintain the true Reformed
“ Protestant Religion, and, according to the duty
“ of their Allegiance, your Majesty's Royal Person,
“ Honor, and Estate (whatsoever is maliciously and
“ falsely suggested to your Majesty to the contrary)
“ as well as the Power, and Privileges of Parliament,
“ and the Lawful Rights and Liberty of the Sub-
“ ject: And do hereby engage Themselves, their
“ Estates, and all they have, to their utmost power,
“ to defend and preserve your Majesty, and both
“ Houses of Parliament, from all Tumults, Affronts,
“ and Violence, with as much Loyalty, Love, and
“ Duty, as ever Citizens expressed towards your

“ Majesty, or any of your Royal Progenitors in **B O O K**
 “ their greatest glory **VI.**

“ The Petitioners therefore, upon their bended
 “ Knees, do most humbly beseech your Majesty,
 “ to return to your Parliament (accompanied with
 “ your Royal, not Martial attendance) to the end
 “ that Religion, Laws, and Liberties, may be set-
 “ tled, and secured, and whatsoever is amiss in
 “ Church, and Common-wealth, reformed by
 “ Their advice, according to the fundamental Con-
 “ stitutions of this Kingdom: And that such a Peace
 “ may thereby be obtained, as shall be for the glory
 “ of God, the Honor, and Happiness of your Ma-
 “ jesty, and Posterity, and Welfare of all your
 “ Loyal Subjects; who (the Petitioners are fully
 “ assured) whatsoever is given out to the contrary,
 “ do unanimously desire the Peace herein ex-
 “ pressed.”

Though this Petition was in effect no other than to desire the King to disband his Army, and to put himself into the absolute disposal of the Parliament, and therefore all wise Men concluded that no great Progress would be made by it towards Peace; yet so sorted and infatuated were the People, that, upon this very Petition, they were prevailed with to submit to another Subscription for Money, and Plate, for the necessary Provision of Arms, Ammunition, and Pay of their Army, until their disbanding and return home to their several Counties: that so they might not be occasioned, through want of Pay, to Plunder, Rob, or Pillage by the way homewards, after their discharge and dismissal. So

B O O K VI. that Men were persuaded that this was now the last Tax they should be invited to, though every one of those Ordinances and Declarations loaded the King with some new calumnies, and reproaches, that it was plain the Authors of them meant not so soon to put themselves under his Subjection.

This Petition was, about the tenth of *January* 1642, presented to the King at *Oxford*, by some Aldermen, and others of the Common-Council, who were for the most part of moderate Inclinations. The King considered sadly what Answer to return; for, albeit it appeared that the Petition had been craftily framed by those who had no thoughts of Peace, and that there was no Argument in it to hope any good from that People; yet there were, to Vulgar Understandings, very specious and popular Professions of great Piety, and Zeal to his service, and care of his security; and he was to be very tender in seeming to doubt the Inclinations, and Affections of that City, by whose strength chiefly the War was supported, and that strength procured by corrupting those Affections: And therefore the King was not sorry to have this opportunity of saying somewhat, and communicating himself freely to the City, being persuaded, that the ill they did, proceeded rather from misinformation than any general, or habitual Malice in them. All his Proclamations, Messages, and Declarations, had been with so much industry suppressed there, that they were not in truth generally informed of the matter of Fact, and the Justice of the King's cause; and therefore he was persuaded that if he enlarged himself, in his

Answer to this Petition, and exposed those few Men who were most notoriously Malignant against the Government of the Church and State, and who were generally known to be so, to the knowledge of the People, that it would at least lessen their Power and Ability to do hurt; and so he resolved to return an Answer to them in these words:

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“ That his Majesty doth not entertain any misapprehension of the Love, and Loyalty of his City of *London*; as he hath always expressed a singular regard and esteem of the Affections of that City, and is still desirous to make it his chief place of residence, and to continue, and renew many Marks of his favor to it; so he believes, much the better and greater part of that his City is full of Love, Duty, and Loyalty to his Majesty; and that the Tumults which heretofore forced his Majesty, for his safety, to leave that place, though they were contrived and encouraged by some principal Members thereof (who are since well known, though they are above the reach of Justice) consisted more of desperate Persons of the Suburbs, and the neighbouring Towns (who were misled too by the cunning and malice of their Seducers) than of the Inhabitants of that City. He looks on his good Subjects there as Persons groaning under the same burden which doth oppress his Majesty, and awed by the same Persons who begot those Tumults, and the same Army which gave Battle to his Majesty: And therefore, as no good Subject can more desire, from his Soul, a composure of the general Distractions;

The King's
Answer.

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“ so no good Citizen can more desire the establishment of the particular Peace, and Prosperity of that place, by his Majesty’s access thither, than his Majesty himself doth.

“ But his Majesty desires his good Subjects of London, seriously to consider, what confidence his Majesty can have of security there, whilst the Laws of the Land are so notoriously despised, and trampled under foot, and the wholesome Government of that City, heretofore so famous over all the world, is now submitted to the Arbitrary Power of a few desperate Persons, of no reputation, but for malice and disloyalty to Him; whilst Arms are taken up, not only without, but against His Consent, and express Command, and Collections publicly made, and Contributions avowed, for the maintenance of the Army which hath given him Battle, and therein used all possible means Treason and Malice could suggest to them, to have taken his Life from him, and to have destroyed his Royal Issue; whilst such of his Majesty’s Subjects, who, out of Duty and Affection to his Majesty, and compassion of their bleeding Country, have labored for Peace, are reviled, injured, and murdered, even by the Magistrates of that City, or by Their Directions: Lastly, what hopes his Majesty can have of safety there, whilst Alderman *Pennington*, their pretended Lord Mayor, the principal Author of those Calamities which so nearly threaten the ruin of that famous City, *Ven. Fauke*, and *Manwaring*, all Persons notoriously guilty of Schism
and

“ and High-Treason, commit such Outrages, in
 “ oppressing, robbing, and imprisoning, according
 “ to their discretion, all such his Majesty’s Loving
 “ Subjects, whom they are pleased to suspect for
 “ but wishing well to his Majesty.

“ And his Majesty would know, whether the
 “ Petitioners believe, that the reviling, and sup-
 “ pressing the Book of Common-Prayer, established
 “ in this Church ever since the Reformation, the
 “ discountenancing and imprisoning Godly, Learn-
 “ ed, and Painful Preachers, and the cherishing
 “ and countenancing of *Brownists*, *Anabaptists*, and
 “ all manner of Sectaries, be the way to defend and
 “ maintain the true Reformed Protestant Religion?
 “ That to comply with, and assist Persons who
 “ have actually attempted to kill his Majesty, and
 “ to allow, and favor Libels, Pasquils, and sedi-
 “ tious Sermons against his Majesty, be to defend
 “ his Royal Person, and Honor, according to the
 “ duty of their Allegiance? Whether to imprison
 “ Men’s Persons, and to plunder their Houses, be-
 “ cause they will not Rebel against his Majesty,
 “ nor assist those that do; whether to destroy their
 “ property by taking away the twentieth part of
 “ their Estates from them, and by the same Arbi-
 “ trary Power, to refer to four Standers by, of
 “ their own Faction, to judge what that twentieth
 “ part is, be to defend the Lawful Rights, and
 “ Liberties of the Subject? And if they think these
 “ Actions to be instances of either; whether they
 “ do not know the Persons before named to be
 “ guilty of them all? Or whether they think it pos-

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“ fible, that Almighty God can blefs that City, and
“ preſerve it from deſtruction, whiſt Perſons of
“ ſuch known guilt, and wickedneſs, are defended,
“ and juſtified among them, againſt the power of
“ that Law, by which they can only ſubſiſt.

“ His Maſteſty is ſo far from ſuffering himſelf to
“ be incenſed againſt the whole City, by the Actions
“ of theſe ill Men, though they have hitherto been
“ ſo prevalent, as to make the Affections of the
“ reſt of little uſe to him; and is ſo willing to be
“ with them, and to protect them, that the Trade,
“ Wealth, and Glory thereof, ſo decayed and
“ eclipsed by theſe public diſtractions, may again
“ be the Envy of all Foreign Nations, that he doth
“ once more graciously offer his free and general
“ Pardon to all the Inhabitants of that his City of
“ *London*, the Suburbs and City of *Weſtmiſter*
“ (except the Perſons formerly excepted by his
“ Maſteſty) if they ſhall Yet return to their Duty,
“ Loyalty, and Obedience. And if his good Sub-
“ jects of that his City of *London* ſhall firſt ſolemnly
“ declare, that they will defend the known Laws
“ of the Land, and will ſubmit to, and be governed
“ by, no other Rule; if they ſhall firſt manifeſt,
“ by defending themſelves, and maintaining their
“ own Rights, Liberties, and Interests, and ſup-
“ preſſing any Force and Violence unlawfully raiſed
“ againſt thoſe and his Maſteſty, their power to
“ defend, and preſerve him from all Tumults,
“ Affronts, and Violence; Laſtly, if they ſhall ap-
“ prehend, and commit to ſafe cuſtody. the Perſons
“ of thoſe four Men who enrich themſelves by the

“ spoil, and oppression of his Loving Subjects, and
“ the ruin of the City, that his Majesty may proceed
“ against them by the Course of Law, as guilty of
“ High-Treason; his Majesty will speedily return to
“ them with his Royal, and without his Martial
“ Attendance, and will use his utmost endeavours,
“ that they may hereafter enjoy all the blessings of
“ Peace and Plenty; and will no longer expect obe-
“ dience from them, than he shall, with all the
“ faculties of his Soul, labor in the preserving, and
“ advancing the true Reformed Protestant Religion,
“ the Laws of the Land, the Liberty and Property of
“ the Subjects, and the just Privileges of Parliament.

“ If, notwithstanding all this, the Art, and In-
“ terest of these Men can prevail so far, that they
“ involve more Men in their guilt, and draw that
“ his City to sacrifice its present happiness, and
“ future hopes, to their Pride, Fury, and Malice,
“ his Majesty shall only give them this warning;
“ That whosoever shall henceforward take up Arms,
“ without His consent, contribute any Money, or
“ Plate, upon what pretence of Authority soever,
“ for maintenance of the Army under the Command
“ of the Earl of *Essex*, or any other Army in Rebel-
“ lion against him, or shall pay Tonnage and Poun-
“ dage, till the same shall be settled by Act of Parlia-
“ ment, every such Person must expect the severest
“ punishment the Law can inflict; and, in the mean
“ time, his Majesty shall seize upon any part of his
“ Estate within his power, for the Relief and Support
“ of Him and his Army, raised and maintained for
“ the Defence of his Person, the Laws, and this

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“ his Kingdom: And since he denies to his Majesty
“ the duty and benefit of his Subjection, by giving
“ Assistance to Rebels, which, by the known Laws
“ of the Land, is High-Treason; his Majesty shall
“ likewise deny Him the benefit of his Protection,
“ and shall not only signify to all his Foreign Minis-
“ ters, that such Person shall receive no advantage
“ by being his Subject, but shall, by all other ways
“ and means, proceed against him as a public Enemy
“ to his Majesty, and this Kingdom.

“ Yet his Majesty hopes, and doubts not, but
“ his good Subjects of *London* will call to mind the
“ Acts of their Predecessors, the Duty, Affection,
“ Loyalty, and Merit towards their Princes, the
“ Renown they have had with all Posterity for,
“ and the blessing of Heaven which always accom-
“ panied those Virtues; and will consider the per-
“ petual scorn, and infamy which unavoidably will
“ follow Them and their Children, if infinitely the
“ meaner part in Quality, and much the lesser part
“ in Number, shall be able to alter the Government,
“ so admirably established, destroy the Trade so
“ excellently settled, and to waste the Wealth so
“ industriously gotten, of that flourishing City:
“ And they will easily gather up the Courage and
“ Resolution to join with his Majesty in Defence of
“ that Religion, Law, and Liberty, which hitherto
“ hath, and only can, make Themselves, his Ma-
“ jesty, and his Kingdom, happy.

“ For concurring with the advice of his two
“ Houses of Parliament, which, with reference to
“ the Common-wealth, may be as well at this dist-

“ance, as by being at *White-Hall*, his Majesty
 “doubts not, but his good Subjects of *London*
 “well know, how far, beyond the example of his
 “Predecessors, his Majesty hath concurred with
 “their advice, in passing of such Laws, by which
 “he willingly parted with many of his known
 “Rights, for the benefit of his Subjects; which,
 “the fundamental Constitutions of this Kingdom
 “did not oblige him to consent unto; and hath used
 “all possible means to beget a right understanding
 “between them: And will therefore apply them-
 “selves to those who by making just, peaceable,
 “and honorable Propositions to his Majesty, can
 “only beget that concurrence.”

This Answer the King sent by a Servant of his
 own, supposing, that if he sent it by the Messengers
 who brought the Petition, it might either be sup-
 pressed, or not communicated in that manner as
 He desired. Besides, the Messengers themselves,
 after the King had caused it to be read to them, were
 very well contented that it should be delivered by
 other hands than their's. So they promised his Ma-
 jesty, that they would procure a Common-Hall
 (which is the most general Assembly of the City, the
 meanest Person being admitted) to be called as soon
 as they returned; where his Messenger might deliver
 it: and having been graciously used by the King
 and the Court, after two days stay, they returned
 from *Oxford* together with the Gentleman sent by
 his Majesty. When they came to *London*, the con-
 tents of the Answer were quickly known, though
 not delivered; and the two Houses made an Order,

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“ that the Lord Mayor should not call a Common-
 “ Hall, till he received farther direction from Them.”
 So that, though the Gentleman, sent by the King ,
 often solicited the Lord Mayor, “ that he would
 “ call a Common-Hall , at which he was to deliver
 “ a Message from the King ,” many days passed be-
 fore any Orders were issued to that purpose.

At last, a day was appointed: and, at the same
 time, a Committee of the Lords and Commons were
 sent to be present, to see that it might not have
 such a reception, as might render their Interest sus-
 pected. As soon as the Gentleman sent by the King
 had read his Majesty's Answer, the Earl of *Man-*
chester told them, “ of the high value the Parlia-
 “ ment had of the City; that they had considered
 “ of those wounding Aspersions, which, in that
 “ Answer, were cast upon Persons of such eminent
 “ affection in their City, and upon others, of great
 “ Fidelity and Trust among them: That they
 “ owned themselves to be equally interested in all
 “ things that concerned them, and would stand by
 “ them with their Lives, and Fortunes, for the Pre-
 “ servation of the City in general, and those Persons
 “ in particular who had been Faithful, and deserved
 “ well both of the Parliament, and Kingdom. And
 “ they would pursue all means with their Lives and
 “ Fortunes, that might be for the Preservation of
 “ that City, and for the procuring of Safety, Hap-
 “ piness, and Peace, to the whole Kingdom.”

As soon as his Lordship had finished his Oration,
 which was received with marvellous Acclamations,
 Mr. Fym enlarged himself, in a Speech then printed,

upon the several parts of the King's Answer (for it was so long before it was delivered, that the printed Copies from *Oxford*, which were printed there after the Messenger was gone so long that all Men concluded it was delivered, were public and in all hands) and told them the sense of the two Houses of Parliament, upon every part of it. Among the rest, "that the demanding the Lord Mayor, and the other three Citizens, was against the Privilege of Parliament (two of them being Members of the House of Commons) and most dishonorable to the City, that the Lord Mayor of *London* should be subjected to the violence of every base Fellow; and that they should be commanded to deliver up their chief Magistrates, and such eminent Members of the City, to the King's pleasure, only because they had done their duty, in adhering to the Parliament, for the defence of the Kingdom."

He told them, "that, to the objection that the Government of the City had been managed by a few desperate Persons, and that they did exercise an Arbitrary Power, the two Houses gave them this Testimony, that they had, in most of the great occasions concerning the Government of the City, followed Their direction: and that direction which the Parliament had given, They had executed; and they must, and would maintain to be such, as stood with Their honor in giving it, and the others trust, and fidelity in performing it."

To the objection, "that the Property of the Subject was destroyed, by taking away the twen-

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“ tieth part by an Arbitrary Power ,” he told them,
“ that That Ordinance did not require a twentieth
“ part, but did limit the Assessors that they should
“ not go beyond a twentieth part, and that was
“ done by a Power derived from both Houses of
“ Parliament; the Lords, who had an hereditary
“ Interest in making of Laws in this Kingdom; and
“ the Commons, who were elected and chosen to
“ represent the whole Body of the Commonalty,
“ and trusted, for the good of the People, when-
“ ever they see cause, to charge the Kingdom.” He
said farther, “ that the same Law which did enable
“ the two Houses of Parliament to raise Forces to
“ maintain, and defend the safety of Religion,
“ and of the Kingdom, did likewise enable them to
“ require contributions whereby those Forces might
“ be maintained; or else it were a vain power to
“ raise Forces, if they had not a power likewise to
“ maintain them in that Service for which they
“ were raised. He observed, that it was reported,
“ that the King declared he would send some Mes-
“ sengers to observe their carriage in the City, and
“ what was done among them: the Parliament had
“ just cause to doubt, that those would be Messen-
“ gers of sedition, and trouble, and therefore de-
“ fired them to observe and find them out, that
“ they might know who they were.” He concluded
with “ commending unto their consideration, the
“ great danger that they were all in; and that the
“ danger could not be kept off, in all likelihood,
“ but by the Army that was then on foot;” and
assured them, “ that the Lords and Commons were

“ so far from being frightened by any thing, in that
“ Answer, that they had, for Themselves, and the
“ Members of both Houses, declared a farther con-
“ tribution, towards the maintenance of that Army;
“ and could not but hope, and desire, that the City,
“ which had showed so much good Affection in the
“ former necessities of the State, would be sensible
“ of their own, and of the condition of the whole
“ Kingdom, and add to that which they had already
“ done, some farther Contribution, whereby that
“ Army might be maintained for all their safeties.”

Whether the solemnity for the reception of this Message after it was known what the contents were, and the bringing so great a Guard of armed Men to the place where it was to be delivered, frightened the well affected Party of the City from coming thither, or frightened them, when they were there, from expressing those Affections, I know not. But it is certain, these Speeches and Discourses were received, and entertained with all imaginable applause, and that meeting was concluded with a general Acclamation, “ that they would live, and die with the
“ Houses,” and other expressions of that nature. So that all thoughts of farther Address, or compliance with his Majesty from the City, were so entirely and absolutely laid aside, that the Licence of Seditious and Treasonable discourses daily increased; insomuch, that complaint being made to the then Lord Mayor, that a certain desperate Person, had said, “ that he hoped shortly to wash his hands in
“ the King’s blood,” that Minister of Justice refused to send any Warrant, or to give any direction to

B O O K any Officer, for the apprehension of him. This was
VI. the success of that Petition, and Answer.

The Houses now began to speak Themselves, of sending Propositions to the King for Peace. For, how great soever the compliance seemed with them from the City, or the Country, they well enough discerned that compliance was generally upon the hope and expectation that they would procure a speedy Peace. And they had now procured That to pass both Houses, which they only wanted, the Bill for the extirpation of Episcopacy: in the doing whereof, they used marvellous Art, and Industry. They who, every day, did somewhat, how little soever then taken notice of, to make Peace impossible, and resolved, that no Peace could be safe for Them, but such a one as would be unsafe for the King, well enough knew that they should never be able to hold up, and carry on the War against the King in *England*, but by the help of an Army out of *Scotland*; which they had no hope to procure but upon the Stock of the Alteration of the Government of the Church; to which that Nation was violently inclined. But to compass That, was very difficult; very much the Major part, even of those Members who still continued with them, being cordially Affected to the Government established, at least not Affected to any Other. To those therefore, who were so far engaged as to desire to have it in Their power to compel the King to consent to such a Peace as they desired, they represented, “ the consequence of getting the *Scots* to declare
“ for them; which would more terrify the King,

“ and keep the Northern parts in Subjection more, B O O K
“ than any Forces they should be able to raise: VI.
“ That it was impossible to draw such a Declaration
“ from them, without first declaring themselves
“ that they would alter the Government by the
“ Bishops; which that People pretended to believe
“ the only justifiable ground to take up Arms.” To
others, which was indeed their public, and avowed,
and current Argument in debates, they alledged,
“ that they could not expect that any Peace would
“ be effected by the King’s free concurrence to any
“ Message they could send to him, but that it must
“ arise, and result from a Treaty between them,
“ upon such Propositions as either Party would
“ make upon their own Interest: that it could not
“ be expected that such Propositions would be
“ made on either side, as would be pertinaciously
“ insisted on by them who made them; it being the
“ course, in all Affairs of this Nature, to ask more
“ than was expected to be consented to; that it con-
“ cerned Them as much, to make demands of great
“ Moment to the King, from which they meant to
“ recede, as others upon which they must insist:
“ that all Men knew the inclination and affection
“ the King had to the Church, and therefore if he
“ saw That in danger, he would rescue it at any
“ price, and very probably their departing from
“ their Proposition concerning the Church, might
“ be the most powerful Argument to the King, to
“ gratify them with the Militia.”

By these Artifices, and especially by concluding
obstinately, “ that no Propositions should be sent

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Commission-
ers sent to
the King with
Propositions
of Peace about
the end of
January.

“ to the King for Peace, till the Bill for extirpation
“ of Bishops was passed the Lords House” (where
it would never otherwise have been submitted to)
they had their desire, and, about the end of *January*,
they sent the Earls of *Northumberland*, *Pembroke*,
Salisbury, and *Holland*, with eight Members of the
Commons to *Oxford*, with their Petition and Pro-
positions. And here I cannot omit one Stratagem,
which, at that time, occasioned some Mirth. The
Common-People of *London* were persuaded, “ that
“ there was so great scarcity of Victual and Provi-
“ sions at *Oxford*, and in all the King’s Quarters,
“ that they were not without danger of starving;
“ and that, if all other ways failed, That alone
“ would in a short time bring the King to them.”
To make good this report, Provisions of all kinds,
even to Bread, were sent in Waggon, and on
Horses from *London* to *Oxford*, for the supply of
this Committee: when, without doubt, they found
as great plenty of all things where they came, as
they had left behind them. The Petition presented
to his Majesty with the Propositions were, in these
words, at the presentation, read by the Earl of
Northumberland.

*The humble desires, and Propositions of the Lords
and Commons in Parliament, tendered to his
Majesty.*

“ We your Majesty’s most humble and faithful
“ Subjects, the Lords and Commons in Parliament
“ Assembled, having in our thoughts the glory of
“ God, your Majesty’s honor, and the prosperity
“ of your People, and being most grievously afflicted

“ with the pressing Miseries, and Calamities, which
“ have overwhelmed your two Kingdoms of *Eng-*
“ *land*, and *Ireland*, since your Majesty hath, by
“ the persuation of evil Counsellors, withdrawn
“ yourself from the Parliament, raised an Army
“ against it, and, by force thereof protected De-
“ linquents from the justice of it, constraining Us to
“ take Arms for the defence of Our Religion, Laws,
“ Liberties, Privileges of Parliament, and for the
“ sitting of the Parliament in safety; which fears
“ and dangers are continued, and increased, by the
“ raising, drawing together, and Arming of great
“ Numbers of Papists, under the Command of the
“ Earl of *New-Castle*; likewise by making the Lord
“ *Herbert* of *Ragland*, and other known Papists,
“ Commanders of great Forces, whereby many
“ grievous oppressions, rapines, and cruelties have
“ been, and are daily exercised upon the Persons
“ and Estates of your People, much innocent blood
“ hath been spilt, and the Papists have attained
“ means of attempting, with hopes of effecting,
“ their mischievous designs of rooting out the Re-
“ formed Religion, and destroying the Professors
“ thereof: In the tender sense, and compassion of
“ these Evils, under which your People, and King-
“ dom lie (according to the duty, which We owe
“ to God, your Majesty, and the Kingdom, for
“ which we are trusted) do most earnestly desire,
“ that an end may be put to these great distempers
“ and distractions, for the preventing of that deso-
“ lation which doth threaten all your Majesty’s
“ Dominions. And as We have rendered, and still

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“ are ready to render to your Majesty, that Sub-
 “ jection, Obedience, and Service, which We owe
 “ unto you, so We most humbly beseech your
 “ Majesty, to remove the causes of this War, and
 “ to vouchsafe Us that Peace and Protection, which
 “ We, and Our Ancestors have formerly enjoyed
 “ under your Majesty, and your Royal Predecess-
 “ sors, and graciously to accept, and grant these
 “ Our most humble Desires and Propellitions:”

1. “ That your Majesty will be pleased to disband
 “ your Armies, as we likewise shall be ready to
 “ disband all those Forces, which We have raised;
 “ and that you will be pleased to return to your
 “ Parliament.

2. “ That you will leave Delinquents to a Legal
 “ Trial, and Judgment of Parliament.

3. “ That the Papists may not only be disbanded,
 “ but disarmed according to Law.

4. “ That your Majesty will be pleased to give
 “ your Royal Assent unto the Bill for taking away the
 “ superstitious Innovations; to the Bill for the utter
 “ abolishing, and taking away of all Arch bishops,
 “ bishops, their Chancellors, and Commissaries, Deans,
 “ Sub-Deans, Deans and Chapters, Arch-Deacons,
 “ Canons, and Prebendaries, and all Chaunters,
 “ Chancellors, Treasurers, Sub-Treasurers, Succen-
 “ tors, and Sacrists, and all Vicars Choral, Choristers,
 “ old Vicars, and new Vicars of any Chathedral or
 “ Collegiate Church, and all other their under-
 “ Officers out of the Church of *England*: to the Bill
 against scandalous Ministers; to the Bill against
 “ Pluralities; and to the Bill for consultation to
 “ be had with Godly, Religious, and Learned

“ Divines. That your Majesty will be pleased to
 “ promise to pass such other good Bills for settling of
 “ Church-Government, as upon Consultation with
 “ the Assembly of the said Divines, shall be resolved
 “ on by both Houses of Parliament, and by them
 “ presented to your Majesty.

5. “ That your Majesty having expressed, in your
 “ Answer to the Nineteen Propositions of both
 “ Houses of Parliament, a hearty Affection and
 “ Intention for the rooting out of Popery out of this
 “ Kingdom; and that, if both the Houses of Parlia-
 “ ment can yet find a more effectual course to disable
 “ Jesuits, Priests, and Popish Recusants, from
 “ disturbing the State, or eluding the Laws, that
 “ you would willingly give your consent unto
 “ it; that you would be graciously pleased, for the
 “ better Discovery, and speedier Conviction of
 “ Recusants, that an Oath may be established by Act
 “ of Parliament, to be administered in such manner
 “ as by both Houses shall be agreed on; wherein
 “ they shall abjure and renounce the Pope’s Supre-
 “ macy, the Doctrine of Transubstantiation, Pur-
 “ gatory, Worshipping of the Consecrated Host,
 “ Crucifixes, and Images: And the refusing the said
 “ Oath, being tendered in such manner as shall be
 “ appointed by Act of Parliament, shall be a sufficient
 “ Conviction in Law of Recusancy. And that your
 “ Majesty will be graciously pleased to give your
 “ Royal Assent unto a Bill, for the Education of the
 “ Children of Papists by Protestants in the Protestant
 “ Religion. That for the more effectual execution of
 “ the Laws against Popish Recusants, your Majesty

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“ will be pleased to consent to a Bill, for the true
 “ Levying of the Penalties against them; and
 “ that the same Penalties may be Levied, and dis-
 “ posed of in such manner as both Houses of Parlia-
 “ ment shall agree on, so as your Majesty be at no
 “ loss; and likewise to a Bill, whereby the practice
 “ of Papists against the State may be prevented, and
 “ the Law against them duly executed.

6. “ That the Earl of *Bristol* may be removed
 “ from your Majesty’s Councils; and that both He,
 “ and the Lord *Herbert*, eldest Son to the Earl of
 “ *Worcester*, may likewise be restrained from coming
 “ within the Verge of the Court; and that they may
 “ not bear any Office, or have any Employments
 “ concerning State or Common-wealth.

7. “ That your Majesty will be graciously pleased,
 “ by Act of Parliament, to settle the Militia both by
 “ Sea and Land, and for the For’s and Ports of the
 “ Kingdom, in such a manner as shall be agreed on
 “ by both Houses.

8. “ That your Majesty will be pleased. by your
 “ Letters Patent, to make Sir *John Bramston*. Chief
 “ Justice of the Court of King’s Bench; *William*
 “ *Lenthall* Esquire, the now Speaker of the Com-
 “ mon’s House, Master of the Rolls; and to con-
 “ tinue the Lord Chief Justice *Banks*, Chief Justice
 “ of the Court of Common-Pleas; and likewise to
 “ make Mr. Serjeant *Wild*, Chief Baron of your
 “ Court of Exchequer; and that Mr Justice *Bacon*
 “ may be continued; and Mr. Serjeant *Rolls*, and
 “ Mr. Serjeant *Atkins*, made Justices of the King’s
 “ Bench: That Mr. Justice *Reeves*, and Mr. Justice
Foster,

“ *Foster*, may be continued; and Mr. Serjeant, B O O K.
 “ *Pheasant*, made one of the Justices of your Court VI.
 “ of Common-Pleas; That Mr. Serjeant *Creswell*,
 “ Mr. *Samuel Brown*, and Mr. *John Puleston*, may
 “ be Barons of the Exchequer; and that all these, and
 “ all the Judges of the same Courts, for the time to
 “ come, may hold their places by Letters - Patent
 “ under the Great Seal. *Quam diu se bene gesserint*:
 “ And that the several Persons not before named,
 “ that do hold any of these places before mentioned,
 “ may be removed.

9. “ That all such Persons, as have been put out
 “ of the Commissions of Peace, or Oyer and Terminer,
 “ or from being *Custodes Rotulorum*, since the first
 “ day of April 1642 (other than such as were put out
 “ by desire of both or either of the Houses of Parlia-
 “ ment) may again be put into those Commissions,
 “ and Offices; and that such Persons may be put out
 “ of those Commissions, and Offices, as shall be
 “ excepted against by both Houses of Parliament.

10. “ That your Majesty will be pleased to pass
 “ the Bill now presented to your Majesty, to vindicate and secure the Privileges of Parliament, from
 “ the ill consequence of the late Precedent in the
 “ Charge and Proceeding against the Lord *Kimbol-*
 “ *ton*, now Earl of *Manchester*, and the five Members
 “ of the House of Commons.

11. “ That your Royal Assent may be given unto
 “ such Acts as shall be advised by both Houses of
 “ Parliament, for the satisfying and paying the
 “ Debts. and Damages, wherein the two Houses of
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B O O K " Parliament have engaged the Public Faith of the
VI. " Kingdom.

12. " That your Majesty will be pleased, accord-
" ing to a gracious Answer heretofore received from
" you , to enter into a more strict Alliance with
" the States of the united Provinces, and other
" Neighbour Princes, and States of the Protestant
" Religion, for the defence and maintenance thereof
" against all designs and attempts of the Popish, and
" Jesuitical Faction, to subvert and suppress it;
" whereby your Subjects may hope to be free from
" the mischiefs which this Kingdom hath endured,
" through the power which some of that Party have
" had in your Counsels; and will be much encoura-
" ged, in a Parliamentary way, for your Aid and
" Assistance in restoring your Royal Sister, and the
" Prince Elector, to those Dignities and Dominions
" which belong unto them; and relieving the other
" Protestant Princes who have suffered in the same
" Cause.

13. " That in the general Pardon which your
" Majesty hath been pleased to offer to your Subjects,
" all Offences and Misdemeanours committed before
" the 10th of *January* 1641, which have been or shall
" be questioned, or proceeded against in Parliament,
" upon Complaint in the House of Commons, before
" the 10th *January* 1643, shall be excepted; which
" Offences, and Misdemeanours shall nevertheless
" be taken, and adjudged to be fully discharged
" against all other inferior Courts. That likewise
" there shall be an exception of all Offences com-
" mitted by any Person or Persons, which hath, or

“ have had, any hand or practice in the Rebellion
 “ of *Ireland*; which hath, or have given, any
 “ Counsel, Assistance, or Encouragement to the
 “ Rebels there, for the maintenance of that Rebel-
 “ lion; as likewise an exception of *William Earl of*
 “ *New-Castle*, and *George Lord Digby*.

14. “ That your Majesty will be pleased to restore
 “ such Members of either House of Parliament to
 “ their several places of Services, and Employment,
 “ out of which they have been put since the begin-
 “ ning of this Parliament; that they may receive
 “ satisfaction, and reparation for those places, and
 “ for the profits which they have lost by such remo-
 “ vals, upon the Petition of both Houses of Parlia-
 “ ment: and that all others may be restored to their
 “ Offices, and Employments. who have been put
 “ out of the same upon any displeasure conceived
 “ against them, for any Assistance given to both
 “ Houses of Parliament, or Obeying their Com-
 “ mands, or forbearing to leave their Attendance
 “ upon the Parliament without Licence; or for any
 “ other occasion, arising from these unhappy dif-
 “ ferences, betwixt your Majesty. and both Houses
 “ of Parliament, upon the like Petition of both
 “ Houses.

“ These things being granted, and performed,
 “ as it hath always been our hearty Prayer, so shall
 “ We be enabled to make it our hopeful Endeav-
 “ our, that your Majesty, and your People. may
 “ enjoy the blessings of Peace, Truth, and Justice;
 “ the Royalty and Greatness of your Throne may

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“ be supported by the Loyal, and Bountiful Affec-
 “ tions of your People; Their Liberties, and Pri-
 “ vileges maintained by your Majesty’s Protection,
 “ and Justice; and this public Honor, and Happi-
 “ ness of your Majesty, and all your Dominions,
 “ communicated to other Churches, and States of
 “ your Alliance, and derived to your Royal Poste-
 “ rity, and the future Generations of this Kingdom
 “ for ever.”

They who brought this Petition and Propositions, spake to their friends at *Oxford* with all freedom of the Persons from whom they came; inveighed against “ their Tyranny, and Unreasonableness,” and especially against the Propositions themselves had brought; but positively declared, “ that, if the King
 “ would vouchsafe so gracious an Answer (which
 “ they confessed they had no reason to expect) as
 “ might engage the two Houses in a Treaty, it
 “ would not be then in the power of the Violent
 “ Party to deny whatsoever his Majesty could rea-
 “ sonably desire.” However (though the King expected little from those private undertakings, well knowing, that they who wished best, were of least power, and that the greatest among them, as soon as they were but suspected to incline to Peace, immediately lost their Reputation) his Majesty, within two days, graciously dismissed those Messengers with this Answer.

“ If his Majesty had not given up all the faculties
 “ of his Soul to an earnest endeavour of Peace, and
 “ Reconciliation with his People; or if he would
 “ suffer himself, by any Provocation, to be drawn

“ to a sharpness of Language, at a time when there
 “ seems somewhat like an Overture of Accommo-
 “ dation, he could not but resent the heavy Char-
 “ ges upon him in the Preamble of these Proposi-
 “ tions; would not suffer himself to be reproached,
 “ with protecting of Delinquents, by force, from
 “ justice (his Majesty’s desire having always been,
 “ that all Men should be tried by the known Law,
 “ and having been refused it) with raising an Army
 “ against his Parliament, and to be told that Arms
 “ have been taken up against Him for the defence
 “ of Religion, Laws, Liberties, and Privileges of
 “ Parliament, and for the sitting of the Parliament
 “ in safety, with many other particulars in that
 “ Preamble so often and so fully answered by his
 “ Majesty, without remembering the world of the
 “ Time, and Circumstances of raising those Arms
 “ against him; when his Majesty was so far from
 “ being in a condition to invade other Men’s Rights,
 “ that he was not able to maintain, and defend his
 “ own from Violence; and without telling his good
 “ Subjects, that their Religion (the true Protestant
 “ Religion, in which his Majesty was born, hath
 “ faithfully lived, and to which He will die a wil-
 “ ling Sacrifice) their Laws, Liberties, Privileges,
 “ and safety of Parliament, were so amply settled,
 “ and established, or offered to be so by his Ma-
 “ jesty, before any Army was raised against him,
 “ and long before any raised by him for his defence,
 “ that if nothing had been desired but that Peace
 “ and Protection which his Subjects, and their An-
 “ cestors, had in the best times enjoyed, under his

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“ Majesty, or his Royal Predecessors, this misunderstanding and distance between his Majesty and his People, and this general Misery and Distraction upon the face of the whole Kingdom, had not been now the discourse of all *Christendom*.

“ But his Majesty will forbear any expressions of bitterness or of a sense of his own Sufferings, that, if it be possible, the Memory thereof may be lost to the world. And therefore, though many of the Propositions, presented to his Majesty by both Houses, appear to him very derogatory from, and destructive to, his just Power and Prerogative, and no way beneficial to his Subjects, few of them being already due to them by the Laws established (and how Unparliamentary it is by Arms to require new Laws, all the world may judge) yet (because these may be waved, or mollified, and many things, that are now dark and doubtful in them, cleared, and explained upon debate) his Majesty is pleased, such is his sense of the Miseries, this Kingdom suffers by this unnatural War, and his earnest desire to remove them by a happy Peace, that a speedy time and place be agreed upon, for the meeting of such Persons as his Majesty and both Houses shall appoint to discuss these Propositions, and such others here following as his Majesty doth propose to them.

1. “ That his Majesty’s own Revenue, Magazine, Towns, Forts, and Ships, which have been taken or kept from him by force, be forthwith restored unto him.

2. " That whatsoever hath been done, or published, contrary to the known Laws of the Land, or derogatory to his Majesty's Legal, and known Power and Rights, be renounced, and recalled, that no seed may remain for the like to spring out of for the future.

3. " That whatsoever illegal Power hath been claimed, and exercised by, or over his Subjects, as imprisoning their Persons without Law stopping their *Habeas-Corpus's*, and imposing upon their Estates without Act of Parliament, &c. Either by both, or either House, or any Committee of both, or either, or by any Persons appointed by any of them, be disclaimed; and all such Persons so committed, forthwith discharged.

4. " That as his Majesty will readily consent (having done so heretofore) to the execution of all Laws already made, and to any good Acts to be made for the suppressing of Popery, and for the firm settling of the Protestant Religion now established by Law; so he desires, that a good Bill may be framed, for the better preserving the Book of Common-Prayer from the scorn and violence of *Brownists*, *Anabaptists*, and other Sectaries, with such Clauses for the ease of tender Consciences, as his Majesty hath formerly offered.

5. " That all such Persons, as, upon the Treaty, shall be excepted out of the general Pardon, shall be tried *per pares*, according to the usual Course, and known Law of the Land; and that it be left to that, either to acquit, or condemn them:

6. " And to the intent this Treaty may not suffer interruption, by any intervening Accidents, that

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“ a Cessation of Arms, and free Trade for all his Majesty’s Subjects, may be first agreed upon.

“ This offer and desire of his Majesty, he hopes, will be so cheerfully entertained, that a speedy, and blessed Peace may be accomplished. If it shall be rejected, or, by insisting upon unreasonable circumstances, be made impossible (which, he hopes, God in his Mercy to this Nation will not suffer) the guilt of the blood which will be shed, and the desolation which must follow, will lie upon the heads of the Refusers. However, his Majesty is resolved, through what Accidents soever he shall be compelled to recover his Rights, and with what prosperous success soever it shall please God to bless him, that by his earnest, constant Endeavours to propagate and promote the true Protestant Religion, and by his governing according to the known Laws of the Land, and upholding the just Privileges of Parliament, according to his frequent protestations made before Almighty God (which he will always inviolably observe) the world shall see, that he hath undergone all these difficulties, and hazards, for the defence and maintenance of those, the zealous preservation of which, his Majesty well knows, is the only foundation and means for the true happiness of Him, and his People.”

Whilst these Overtures and Discourses were made of Peace, the Kingdom, in all parts, felt the sad effects of War; neither the King, nor the Parliament, being slack in pursuing the business by the Sword; and the Persons of Honor and Quality in

most Counties more vigorously declaring themselves than they had done. Amongst the rest, upon the King's retreat from *Brentford*, whilst he yet staid about *Reading*, some of the well affected Gentry of *Suffex*, upon the confidence of their Interests in those parts, offered the King to raise Forces there; and presumed they should be able to seize some place of security and importance for their retreat, if the Enemy should attempt upon them; which, at that time of the year, was not conceived could be with any notable success. And being armed with such Authority, and Commissions, as they desired; and seconded with a good Number of considerable Officers, their first success was answerable to their own hopes, and they possessed themselves, partly by Force, and partly by Stratagem, of the City of *Chichester*; which, being encompassed with a very good old Wall, was very easy to be so fortified, that, with the Winter, they might well think themselves secure against any forcible Attempt could be made upon them. And no doubt they had been so, if the Common-People of the County (out of which the Soldiers were to rise) had been so well affected as was believed.

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Chichester
possessed by
the King's
Forces :

But before they could draw in Men or Provisions into the City, the Earl of *Essex* sent Sir *William Waller* with Horse, Foot and Cannon, to infect them; who, with the Assistance of the Country, quickly shut them up within their Walls. They within the Town were easily reduced to straits they could not contend with; for, besides the Enemy without, against which the Wall and the Weather seemed of

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equal power, and the small stock of Provisions, which, in so short time, they were able to draw thither, they had cause to apprehend their Friends would be weary before their Enemies; and that the Citizens would not prove a trusty part of the Garrison; and their Number of Common Men was so small that the constant duty was performed by the Officers, and Gentlemen of Quality, who were absolutely tired out. So that after a week or ten days Siege, they were compelled, upon no better Articles than Quarter, to deliver that City, which could hardly have been taken from them; by which (with the Loss of fifty or threescore Gentlemen of Quality, and Officers of Name, whose very good reputation made the loss appear a matter of absolute, and unavoidable necessity) the King found that he was not to venture to plant Garrisons so far from his own Quarters, where he could not, in reasonable time, administer succour or supply.

But surren-
dered to Sir
W. Walter.

This Triumph of the Enemy was shortly after abated, and the loss on the King's part repaired, by the winning of *Cirencester*, a good Town in *Glocestershire*, which the Rebels were fortifying, and had in it a very strong Garrison; and, being upon the edge of *Wiltshire*, *Berkshire*, and *Oxfordshire*, shrewdly straitened the King's Quarters. The Marquis of *Hertford* bringing with him, out of *Wales*, near two thousand Foot, and one Regiment of Horse, intended, with the Assistance of Prince *Rupert*, who appointed to join with him with some Regiments from *Oxford*, to take in that Town; But by the extreme foulness of the ways, the great fall of rain

at that time (being about *Christmas*) and some mistake in Orders between the two Generals, that Design was disappointed: And the Alarm gave the Enemy so much the more courage, and diligence to provide for an Assault.

In the beginning of *February*, Prince *Rupert* went upon the same Design with better success; and at one and the same time, storming the Town in several places, their Works being not yet finished, though pertinaciously enough defended, entered their Line with some loss of Men, and many hurt, but with a far greater of the Enemy; for there were not so few as two hundred killed upon the place, and above one thousand taken Prisoners, whereof *Warrnesford*, and *Pettyplace* (two Gentlemen of good Quality and Fortune near that Town, and very active in the Service) Mr. *George*, a Member of Parliament who served for that Borough, and two or three *Scottish* Officers of the Field, whereof *Carr* the Governor was one, were the chief. The Town yielded much Plunder; from which the undistinguishing Soldier could not be kept, but was equally injurious to Friend and Foe; so that many honest Men, who were imprisoned by the Rebels for not concurring with them, found themselves at Liberty and Undone together; amongst whom *John Plot*, a Lawyer of very good reputation, was one; who being freed from the hard, and barbarous imprisonment in which he had been kept, when he returned to his own House, found it full of Soldiers, and twelve hundred pounds in Money taken from thence, which could never be recovered. The Prince left a

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Gloucester
won by the
King's Forces
and the Prince
Rupert.

B O O K strong Garrison there, that brought almost all that
 VI. whole County into contribution, and was a great enlargement to the King's Quarters, which now, without interruption, extended from *Oxford* to *Worcester*; that important City, with the other of *Hereford*, and those Counties, having, some time before; been quitted by the Rebels; the Earl of *Stamford*, who was left in those parts by the Earl of *Essex*, being called from thence, by the growth of the King's Party in *Cornwal*, to the securing the West.

We remembered before, when the Marquis of *Hertford* transported himself and his few Foot into *Wales* from *Minhead*, that Sir *Ralph Hopton*, and the other Gentlemen, mentioned before, with their small Force, consisting of about one hundred Horse, and fifty Dragoons, retired into *Cornwal*, neglected by the Earl of *Bedford*, as fit and easy to be suppressed by the Committees. And in truth, the Committees were entirely possessed of *Devonshire*, and thought themselves equally sure of *Cornwal*, save that the Castle of *Pendennis* was in the Custody of one they had no hope of. They were welcomed into *Cornwal* by Sir *Bevil Greenvil*, who marched with them towards the West of the County, as being best affected, where they might have leisure to refresh their wearied and almost tired Horse and Men, and to call the well disposed Gentry together; for which they chose *Truro* as the fittest place, the East-part of the County being possessed by Sir *Alexander Carew*, and Sir *Richard Buller*, two Members of the House of Commons, and active Men for the

Sir Ralph
 Hopton and
 Sir Bevil
 Greenvil's
 progress in
 Cornwall
 together with
 other Gentle-
 men there.

settling of the Militia. There was in this County, as throughout the whole Kingdom, a wonderful and superstitious reverence towards the name of a Parliament, and a prejudice to the power of the Court; yet a full submission, and Love of the established Government of Church and State, especially to that part of the Church as concerned the Liturgy or Book of Common-Prayer, which was a most general object of Veneration with the People. And the jealousy, and apprehension that the other Party intended to alter it, was a principal advancement of the King's Service. Though the Major, and most considerable part of the Gentry, and Men of Estates, were heartily for the King, many of them being of the House of Commons, and so having seen, and observed by what spirit the distemper was begot, and carried on; yet there were others of Name, Fortune, and Reputation with the People, very solicitous for the Parliament, and more active than the other. There was a Third sort (for a Party they cannot be called) greater than either of the other, both of Fortune, and Number, who, though they were satisfied in their Consciences of the justice of the King's Cause, had yet so great a dread of the Power of the Parliament, that they sat still as Neuters, assisting neither. So that they who did boldly appear, and declare for the King, were compelled to proceed with all wariness, and circumspection; by the known and well understood Rules of the Law, and Justice; and durst not oppose the most extravagant Act of the other Side but with all the formality that was used in full Peace: Which must be an Answer to all those

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oversights, and omissions, which Posterity will be apt to impute to the King, in the morning of these Distractions.

The Committee of the Parliament, who were entirely possessed of *Devonshire*, and believed themselves Masters of *Cornwal*, drew their Forces of the Country to *Launceston*, to be sure that Sir *Ralph Hopton*, and his Adherents (whose power they thought contemptible) might not escape out of their hands. This was before the Battle of *Edge-hill*, when the King was at lowest, and when the Authority of Parliament found little opposition in any place. The Quarter-Sessions came, where they caused a Presentment to be drawn, in form of Law, "against divers " Men unknown, who were lately come armed " into that County *contra pacem*, &c." Though none were named, all understood Who were meant; and therefore Sir *Ralph Hopton*, who very well understood those proceedings, voluntarily appeared; took notice of the Presentment, and produced the Commission granted by the King, under the Great Seal of *England*, to the Marquis of *Hertford*, by which he was constituted General of the West; and a Commission, from his Lordship, to Sir *Ralph Hopton*, of Lieutenant General of the Horse; and told them, " he was sent to assist them, in the defence of their Liberties, against all illegal Taxes, " and Impositions " Hereupon, after a full and solemn debate, the Jury, which consisted of Gentlemen of good Quality, and Fortunes in the County, not only acquitted Sir *Ralph Hopton*, and all the other Gentlemen his Companions, of any disturbance

of the Peace; but declared, "that it was a great
 " favor, and justice of his Majesty, to send down
 " aid to them who were already marked out to
 " destruction; and that they thought it the duty of
 " every good Subject, as well in Loyalty to the
 " King, as in gratitude to those Gentlemen, to join
 " with them with any hazard of Life and Fortune."

As this full vindication was thus gotten on the
 King's part, so an Indictment was preferred against
 Sir *Alexander Carew*, Sir *Richard Buller*, and the
 rest of the Committee, "for a Rout and unlawful
 " Assembly at *Launceston*; and for Riots and Misde-
 " meanours committed against many of the King's
 " good Subjects." in taking their Liberties from them
 for (they had intercepted, and apprehended divers
 Messengers, and others of the King's Party, and
 employed by them) This Indictment and Informa-
 tion was found by the Grand Jury, and thereupon,
 according to a Statute in that case provided, an
 Order of Sessions was granted to the High-Sheriff, a
 Person well affected to the King's Service, "to raise
 " the *posse Comitatus*, for the dispersing that unlawful
 " Assembly at *Launceston*, and for the apprehension
 " of the Rioters." This was the Rise and Foundation
 of all the great Service that was after performed in
Cornwal, by which the whole West was reduced to
 the King. For, by this means, there were imme-
 diately drawn together, a Body of three thousand
 Foot, well armed; which by no other means could
 have been done: with which Sir *Ralph Hopton*,
 whom they all willingly obeyed, advanced towards
Launceston, which the Committee had fortified,

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and from thence had sent Messages of great contempt upon the proceedings of the Sessions; for besides their confidence in their own *Cornish* strength, they had a good Body of Horse to second them upon all occasions, in the Confinnes of *Devon*.

Sir *George Chudleigh* a Gentleman of good Fortune, and Reputation in that County, and very active for the Militia, being then at *Tavistock*, with five or six full Troops of Horse, raised in that County to go to Their Army, but detained till *Cornwal* could be settled; upon the News of Sir *Ralph Hopton's* advancing, these drew to *Litton*, a Village in *Devonshire*, but within three Miles of *Launceston*, Sir *Ralph Hopton* marched within two Miles of the Town, where he refreshed his Men, interding, the next Morning early, to fall on the Town: But Sir *Richard Buller*, and his Confederates, not daring to abide the Storm, in great disorder quitted the Town that Night, and drew into *Devonshire*, and so towards *Plymouth*; so that in the Morning Sir *Ralph Hopton* found the Gates of *Launceston* open, and entered without resistance. As the submission to, and reverence of, the known practised Laws had, by the Sheriff's Authority, raised this Army within very few days, so the extreme superstition to it, as soon dissolved it. For when all the Persons of Honor, and Quality, who well knew the desperate formed designs of the other Party, earnestly pressed the pursuing the disheartened, and dismayed Rebels into *Devon*, by which they should quickly increase their Numbers, by joining with the well affected in that large and populous County, who were yet awed
into

into silence : It was powerfully objected, "that the Sheriff, by whose Legal Authority only that Force was drawn together, might not lawfully march out of his own County, and that it was the principal Privilege of the Trained-bands, that they might not be compelled to march farther than the limits of their Sheriff."

How grievous and inconvenient soever this doctrine was discerned to be, yet no Man durst presume so far upon the temper of that People, as to object Policy, or necessity to the notions of Law. And therefore, concealing, as much as was possible, the true reasons, they pretended their not following the Enemy proceeded from apprehension of their strength, by their joining with Sir *George Chudleigh*, and of want of Ammunition (either of which were not unreasonable) and so marched to *Salt-ash*, a Town in *Cornwal* upon an Arm of the Sea; which only divided it from *Plymouth*, and *Devon*, where was a Garrison of two hundred *Scots*; who, upon the approach of Sir *Ralph Hopton*, as kindly quit *Salt-ash* as the others had *Launceston* before. So that being now entirely Masters of *Cornwal*, they fairly dismissed those who could not be kept long together, and retired with their own handful of Horse and Dragoons, till a new provocation from the Enemy should put fresh Vigor into that County.

In the mean time, considering the casualty of those Trained-bands, and that strength, which on a sudden could be raised by the *posses Comitatus*, which, though it made a Gallant show in *Cornwal*, they easily saw would be of no use towards the

B O O K quenching the General Rebellion over *England*,
VI. they entered upon thoughts of raising voluntary Regiments of Foot; which could be only done by the Gentlemen of that County among their Neighbours, and Tenants, who depended on them. Sir *Bevil Greenvil* (the generally most beloved Man of that County) Sir *Nicholas Slanning*, the Gallant Governor of *Pendennis-Castle*. *John Arundel*, and *John Trevannion*, two young Men of Excellent hopes, and Heirs to great Fortunes in that County (all four of them Members of the House of Commons, and so better informed, and acquainted with the desperate humors of the adverse Party) undertook the raising Regiments of Volunteers: many young Gentlemen, of the most considerable Families of the County, assisting them as inferior Officers. So that, within a shorter time than could be expected, from one single County, there was a Body of Foot, of near fifteen hundred, raised, armed, and well disciplined for Action. But there was then an Accident, that might have discomposed a People which had not been very well prepared to perform their duties.

The Lord *Mohun* (who had departed from *York* from the King with all professions of Zeal, and Activity in his Service) had, from the time of the first motion in *Cornwal*, forbore to join himself to the King's Party: staying at home at his own House, and imparting himself equally to all Men of several Constitutions, as if he had not been yet sufficiently informed which Party to adhere to. But after all the adverse Party was driven out of *Cornwal*, and

the same of the King's marching in the Head of an Army, and having Fought the Battle at *Edge hill* (the effect whereof was variously reported) without acquainting any Body with his Intention, he took a Journey towards *London*, at the time when the King marched that way, and presented himself to his Majesty at *Brentford*, as sent from Sir *Ralph Hopton* and the rest of those Gentlemen engaged in *Cornwal*; though many Men believed that his purpose was, in truth, for *London*, if he had not then found the King's condition better than it was generally believed. Upon his Lordship's information of the State of those Western parts, and upon a supposition that he spake the sense, and desires of those from whom he pretended to come, the King granted a Commission jointly to his Lordship, Sir *Ralph Hopton*, Sir *John Berkeley*, and Colonel *Ashburnham*, to govern those Forces, in the absence of the Lord Marquis of *Hertford*; with which he returned into *Cornwal*, and immediately raised a Regiment of Foot; behaving himself as actively, and being every way as forward in the advancing the great business, as any Man; so that Men imputed his former reservedness, only to his not being satisfied in a condition of Command.

On the other side, they who were concerned in that alteration, were not at all well contented. For before, these Gentlemen of *Cornwal*, upon whose interest and activity the work depended, had, with great readiness, complied with the other, both out of great value of their Persons, with whom they had good familiarity, and friendship, and in respect

BOOK VI. of their Authority, and Commissions, with which they came qualified in that County: for, as was remembered before, Sir *Ralph Hopton* had a Commission from the Marquis of *Hertford*, to be Lieutenant General of the Horse, Sir *John Berkeley*, to be Commissary General, and Colonel *Ashburnham* to be Major General of the Foot, so that there was no dispute of Commands. But now, the Lord *Mohun's* coming into an equal Command with any, and superior to those who thought Their reputation and interest to be superior to His (for he had not the good fortune to be very gracious in his own County) and this by his own solicitation, and interposition, gave them some indignation. However their public-heartedness, and joint concernment in the good Cause, so totally suppressed all Animosities, and indeed Indispositions, that a greater concurrence could not be desired, in whatsoever could contribute to the work in hand; so that they not only preserved *Cornwal* entire, but made bold incursions into *Devon*, even to the Walls of *Plymouth*, and *Exeter*; though the Season of the year, being the deep Winter, and the want of Ammunition, soon forced them to retire into *Cornwal*.

The reputation of their being Masters of that one County, and the apprehension of what they might be shortly able to do, made the Parliament think it time to take more care for their suppression. And therefore they sent their whole Forces out of *Dorset*, and *Somerset*, to join with those of *Devon*, to make an entire conquest of *Cornwal*. With these, *Ruthen* (a Scotch-man, the Governor of *Plymouth*) advanced

into *Cornwal*, by a Bridge over the *Tamar*, six miles above *Salt-ash* (where he had before endeavoured to force his passage by Water, but had been beaten off with loss) having mastered the Guard there; the Earl of *Stamford* following him, two or three days march behind, with a new supply of Horse, and Foot; albeit those the *Scotch*-man had with him, were much superior to those of the King's; which, upon this sudden Invasion, were forced to retire with their whole strength to *Bodmin*; whither, foreseeing this storm some few days before it came, they had again summoned the *posse-Comitatus*, which appeared in considerable Numbers.

They had scarce refreshed themselves there, and put their Men in order, when *Ruthen*, with his Horse, Foot, and Cannon, was advanced to *Liskard*, within seven miles of *Bodmin*; from whence they moved towards the Enemy with all alacrity, knowing how necessary it was for them to Fight before the Earl of *Stamford*, who was at that time come to *Launceston* with a strong Party of Horse and Foot, should be able to join with the Rebels. And as this consideration was of importance to hasten the one, so it prevailed with the other Party too; for *Ruthen*, apprehending that his Victory, of which he made no question, would be clouded by the presence of the Earl of *Stamford*, who had the chief Command, resolved to despatch the business before He came. And so Sir *Ralph Hopton* (to whom the other Commissioners, who had a joint Authority with him, willingly devolved the sole Command for that day, lest confusion of Orders might beget distraction)

O O R was no sooner known to be drawing towards him
 VI. (to whom a present Battle was so necessary, that
 it was resolved, upon all disadvantages, to have
 fallen on the Enemy in the Town rather than not
 Fight) but *Ruthen* likewise drew out his Forces and
 choosing his ground upon the East-side of *Braddock-*
Down near *Lisford*, stood in Battalia to expect the
 Enemy; Sir *Ralph Hopton*, having likewise put His
 Men in order, caused public Prayers to be said, in
 the head of every Squadron (which the Rebels ob-
 serving, told their fellows, "they were at Mass,
 to stir up their Courages in the cause of Religion)
 and having winged his Foot with his Horse and
 Dragons, he advanced within Musquet-shot of
 the Enemy, who stood without any motion. Then
 perceiving that their Cannon were not yet come
 up from the Town, he caused two small iron Minion-
 Drakes (all the Arillery they had) to be drawn,
 under the cover of little Parties of Horse, to a con-
 venient distance from the Body of the Enemies;
 and after two shots of those Drakes (which being
 not discerned, and doing some execution strook a
 greater terror into them) advanced with his Body
 upon them: and, with very easy contention, beat
 them off their ground; they having lined the Hedges
 behind them with their Reserve, by which they
 thought securely to make their retreat into the Town.
 But the *Cornish* so briskly beset themselves, and
 pressed them so hard on every side, being indeed
 excellent at Hedge-work, and that kind of Fight,
 that they quickly won That ground too, and put
 their whole Army in a rout, and had the full

Ralph
 Hopton beats
 the Parlia-
 ment's Forces
 at Braddock-
 Down under
 Lisford.

execution of them as far as they would pursue. But after that advantage, they were always more sparing than is usually known in Civil Wars, shedding very little Blood after resistance was given over, and having a very noble and Christian sense of the lives of their Brethren: insomuch as the Common Men, when they have been pressed by some fiercer Officer, to follow the execution, have answered, "they could not find in their hearts to hurt Men who had nothing in their hands."

In this Battle, without the loss of an Officer of Name, and very few Common Men, they took twelve hundred and fifty Prisoners, most of their Colors, all their Cannon, being four Brass-Guns (whereof two were twelve Pounders) and one iron Saker, all their Ammunition, and most of their Arms. *Ruthen* himself, and those who could keep pace with him, fled to *Salt-ash*; which he thought to fortify, and by the Neighbourhood of *Plymouth*, and assistance of the Shipping, to defend; and thereby still to have an influence upon a good part of *Cornwal*. The Earl of *Stamford* receiving quick AdvVERTISEMENT of this Defeat, in great disorder retired to *Tavistock*, to preserve the utmost parts of *Devon* from incursions. Hereupon, after a solemn Thanksgiving to God for this great Victory (which was about the middle of *January*) and a little refreshing their Men at *Liskard*, the King's Forces divided themselves; Sir *John Berkeley*, and Colonel *Ashburnham*, with Sir *Bevil Greenvil*, Sir *Nicholas Slanning's*, and Colonel *Trevannion's* Voluntary Regiments, and such a Party of Horse and Dragoons as could be

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spared, advanced to *Tavistock* to visit the Earl of *Stamford*; the Lord *Mohun*, and Sir *Ralph Hopton*, with the Lord *Mohun's*, and Colonel *Godolphin's* Voluntary Regiments, and some of the Trained-bands, marched towards *Salt-ash*, to dislodge *Ruthen*; who within three days (for there was no more between his defeat at *Bradock-Down*, and his visitation at *Salt-ash*) had cast up such works, and planted such store of Cannon upon the narrow Avenues, that he thought himself able, with the help of a goodly Ship of four hundred Tuns. in which were sixteen pieces of Cannon, which he had brought up the River to the very side of the Town, to defend that place against any strength was like to be brought against him. But he quickly found that the same spirit possessed his Enemies that drove him from *Liskard*, and the same that possessed his own Men when they fled from thence; for as soon as the *Cornish* came up, they fell upon his works, and in a short time beat him out of them; and then out of the Town, with a good execution upon them; many being killed in the Fight, and more drowned: *Ruthen* himself hardly getting into a Boat, by which he got into *Plymouth*, leaving all his Ordinance behind him, which together with the ship, and seven score Prisoners, and all their Colors, which had been saved at *Liskard*, were taken by the Conquerors, who were now again entire Masters of *Cornwal*.

Salt-ash taken
by the King's
forces.

The Earl of *Stamford* had not the same patience to abide the other Party at *Tavistock*, but, before their approach, quitted the Town; some of his Forces

making haste into *Plymouth*, and the rest retiring into *Exeter*. And so, though the old superstition, of not going out of the County, again disbauded the Trained-bands, the *Cornish*, with all their Voluntary Forces, drew into *Devon*, and fixed Quarters within less than a mile of *Plymouth*, and kept Guards even within Musquet-shot of Their Line. Sir *John Berkeley* in the mean time with a good Party-Volant, of Horse and Dragoons, with great diligence, and gallantry, visiting all places in *Devon*, where their People were gathered together, and dissolving them, took many Prisoners of name; and so kept *Chudleigh*, the Major General of the Parliament-Forces from raising a Body there; which he industriously intended.

In those necessary and brisk expeditions in falling upon *Chagford* (a little Town in the South of *Devon*) before day, the King lost *Sidney Godolphin*, a young Gentleman of incomparable parts; who, being of a constitution and education more delicate, and unacquainted with contentions, upon his observation of the wickedness of those Men in the House of Commons; of which he was a Member, out of the pure indignation of his Soul against them, and conscience to his Country, had, with the first, engaged himself with that Party in the West: and though he thought not fit to take Command in a Profession he had not willingly chosen, yet as his advice was of great Authority with all the Commanders, being always one in the Council of War, and whose notable abilities they had still use of in their Civil Transactions, so he exposed his Person to all Action. Travel, and Hazard; and by too forward engaging himself in this last, re-

Mr. Sidney
Godolphin
slain.

B O O K received a mortal shot by a Musquet, a little above the
VI. knee, of which he died in the instant; leaving the misfortune of his death upon a place, which could never otherwise have had a mention to the world.

The King's
 Cornish
 Forces come
 to Tavistock.

After this, which happened about the end of *January*, in respect of the season of the year, and the want of Ammunition, finding that they could make no impression upon the strong-holds of the Enemy, they retired, with their whole Forces, to *Tavistock*; where they refreshed, and rested themselves many days, being willing to ease their fast Friends of *Cornwall* as much as was possible from the trouble, and charge of their little Army. The difficulties they were entangled with were very prodigious; of which one was, that the other parts of the West were so entirely possessed by the Enemy, that they could have no correspondence, or receive any intelligence from the King, not one Messenger in ten arriving at his Journey's end. Then though the Justice, and Piety of the cause, added much power to particular Persons in raising an Army; yet the money that was raised for the maintenance, and payment of that Army, was entirely upon the Reputation, Credit, and Interest of particular Men: and how long that spring would supply those streams, the most Sanguine among them could not presume; but the want of Ammunition troubled them most of all: they had yet had none but what had been taken out of the low store of *Pendennis-Castle*, and what they had won from the Enemy; the first wanted a supply for it's own provision, but which way to procure that supply they could not imagine; and the fear, and apprehension of such straits, against which no probable

hopes occur, is more grievous and insupportable, B O O K
than any present want.

In this instant, as if sent by Providence, they met VI
with an opportunity they had scarce Courage to hope Captain Carteret supplies
for: Captain *Carteret*, the Controller of the King's them with
Navy, having in the beginning of the Troubles, Ammunition.
after he had refused to have Command in their Fleets,
without noise withdrawn Himself and his Family out
of *England* to *Jersey*, and being there impatient of
being quiet, whilst his Master was in the Field, trans-
ported himself into *Cornwal* with a purpose to raise a
Troop of Horse, and to engage in that Service: when
he came thither, he was unanimously importuned
by the Commanders, after they had acquainted him
with their hopes, and desperate want of Powder,
to assist them in that manner, that the many good
Ports in their power, might be made of some use to
them in the supply of Powder: whereupon he shortly
returned into *France*; and first upon his own Credit,
and then upon return of such Commodities out of
Cornwal as they could well spare, he supplied them
with such great proportions of all kinds of Ammu-
nitions, that they never found want after.

In the mean time, when they were clouded with
that want, at *Tavistock*, some Gentlemen of *Cornwal*
who adhered to the Rebels, and were thereby dis-
possessed of their County, made some Overtures,
“ that a Treaty might be entered into, whereby the
“ Peace of those two Counties of *Cornwal*, and
“ *Devon*, might be settled, and the War be removed
“ into other parts ” They who had most experience
of the humors and dispositions of the Factious Party,

B O O K easily concluded the little hope 'of Peace by such a
VI. Treaty; yet the Proposition was so Specious and Popular, that there was no rejecting it; and therefore

A Traty be-
 tween the two
 Parties in
 Devon, and
 Cornwal.

This Protesta-
 tion being first
 taken by both.

they agreed to a meeting between Persons chosen of either side; and the Earl of *Stamford* himself seemed so ingenuous, that at the very first meeting, to show their clear intentions, it was mutually agreed, that every Person employed and trusted in the Treaty, should first make a Protestation in these words. " I
 " do solemnly vow, and protest, in the presence
 " of Almighty God, that I do not only come a Com-
 " missioner to this Treaty, with a hearty and fervent
 " desire of concluding an honorable and firm Peace
 " between the two Counties of *Cornwal*, and *Devon*;
 " but also will, to the utmost of my power, profe-
 " cute, and really endeavour to accomplish and effect
 " the same, by all lawful ways and means I possibly
 " can; first by maintaining the Protestant Religion
 " established by Law in the Church of *England*, the
 " just Rights and Prerogative of our Sovereign Lord
 " the King, the just Privileges, and Freedom of
 " Parliaments; together with the just Rights and
 " Liberty of the Subjects; and that I am without any
 " intention (by fomenting this unnatural War) to
 " gain, or hope to advantage myself with the real,
 " or personal Estate of any Person whatsoever, or
 " obtaining any Office, Command, Title of Honor,
 " Benefit, or Reward, either from the King's Ma-
 " jesty, or either, or both Houses of Parliament
 " now assembled. And this I take, in the presence
 " of Almighty God, and as I shall answer the same
 " at His Tribunal, according to the literal sense and

“ meaning of the foregoing Words , without any
 “ Equivocation , mental Reservation , or other
 “ Evasion whatsoever. So help me God.”

B O O K
 VI.

The taking this Protestation with that solemnity, and the blessed Sacrament thereupon, made even those who before expected little fruit from the Treaty, believe, that Men being so engaged, would not be liable to those Passions, and Affections, which usually transported that Party; and so to hope that some Good might proceed from it: and therefore the King's Party were easily induced to retire with their Forces into *Cornwal*; and thereupon, a Truce, and Cessation, was agreed upon, that a Treaty might proceed without Interruption. In which Treaty, the same continuing beyond the expiration of the present year 1642, We shall for the present leave them; that We may take a short survey of the Northern Parts, and remember by what degrees They came to feel the Calamities, and to bear Their Burden in the Civil War.

A Truce and
 Cessation
 thereupon.

When the King left *Yorkshire*, he appointed Sir *Thomas Glemham*, at the desire of the Gentlemen of that County as was before remembered, to stay in *York*, to order and command those Forces, which they should find necessary to raise, to defend themselves from the excursions of *Hull*, whence young *Hotham* infested the Country more than his Father; who was willing enough to sit still in his Garrison, where he believed he could make advantage upon the success of either Party; and they who were most inclined to the Parliament (whereof the Lord *Fairfax*, and his Son were the chief) from whom the King

An account of
 the Northern
 Parts disposi-
 tion, at that
 time.

B O O K was so far from expecting any notable mischief, that
VI. he left them all at their own Houses, when he went from thence: and might, if he had thought it requisite, have carried them away Prisoners with him) were rather desirous to look on, than engage themselves in the War; presuming that one Battle would determine all disputes, and the Party which prevailed in that, would find a general submission throughout the Kingdom. And truly, I believe, there was scarce one Conclusion, that hath contributed more to the continuance and length of the War, than that generally received opinion in the beginning, that it would be quickly at an end. Hereupon, there being but one visible difference like to beget distractions in the County, which was about the Militia, the King appointing it to be governed, and disposed by the Commission of Array, and the Parliament by Their Ordinance; for the composing whereof, the Gentlemen of the several opinions, proposed, between themselves, “ that neither the One, nor the Other “ should be meddled with; but that all should be contented to sit still, without engagement to either “ Party:” this seemed very reasonable to the Parliament-Party there, who were rather carried away with an implicate reverence to the very name of a Parliament (the fatal disease of the whole Kingdom at that time) than really transported with the passion and design of the furious part of it; and who plainly discerned, that, by much the greatest part of the Persons of Honor, Quality and Interest in the County, would cordially oppose their Proceedings: For, besides the Lord *Fairfax*, there were in truth

few of good Reputation, and Fortune, who run that way. On the other hand, the King's Party thought Their work done by it; for they having already sent two good Regiments of Foot, the one under Colonel *John Bellasis*, younger Son to the Lord Viscount *Falconbridge*, and the other under Sir *William Pennyman*; and two Regiments of Dragoons, the one under Colonel *Duncomb*, the other, under Colonel *Gowre*; besides three or four good Troops of Horse; and the King being at that distance, that they could not send Him farther supply they thought they had nothing to do, but to keep the County in such a Peace, that it might do the King no harm by sending Men to the Earl of *Essex*, or adhering to the Garrison of *Hull*; and concluding, as the other did, that the decision between the King and Parliament would be at the first Encounter. Upon these deliberations, Articles were solemnly drawn up, consented to and subscribed by the Lord *Fairfax*, and *Henry Bellasis*, the Heir Apparent of the Lord *Falconbridge*, who were the two Knights who served in Parliament for *Yorkshire*, nearly allied together, and of great kindness till their several opinions, and affections had divided them in this Quarrel: the former adhering to the Parliament, the latter, with great Courage and Sobriety, to the King.

Articles of
Neutrality
agreed in
Yorkshire
between both
parties.

With them, the Principal Persons of either Party subscribed the Articles, and gave their mutual Faiths to each other, that they would observe them; being indeed no other than an Engagement of Neutrality, and to assist neither Party. Of all the Gentry of *Yorkshire*, there were only two Dissenters on the Parlia-

ment side, young *Hotham*, and Sir *Edward Rhodes*; who, though of the better Quality, was not so much known, or considered, as the other. But they quickly found Seconds enough; for the Parliament no sooner was informed of this Transaction, than they expressed their detestation of it, and gently in words (though scornfully in matter) reprehending the Lord *Fairfax*, and his Party, "for being
 "cozened, and over-reached by the other:" They declared, "that none of the Parties to that Agree-
 "ment had any Authority to bind that County to
 "any such Neutrality, as was mentioned in that
 "Agreement; it being a peculiar and proper Power,
 "and Privilege of Parliament, where the whole
 "Body of the Kingdom is represented, to bind all,
 "or any part thereof: That it was very prejudicial
 "and dangerous to the whole Kingdom, that one
 "County should withdraw themselves from the
 "Assistance of the rest, to which they were bound
 "by Law, and by several Orders and Declarations
 "of Parliament. That it was very derogatory to the
 "Power and Authority of Parliament, that any
 "private Men should take upon them to suspend
 "the execution of the Ordinance of the Militia,
 "declared by both Houses to be according to Law,
 "and very necessary, at that time, for the preser-
 "vation of the Peace and Safety of the Kingdom.
 "And therefore, they said, they thought them-
 "selves bound in Conscience, to hinder all farther
 "proceedings upon that Agreement;" and ordered;
 "that no such Neutrality should be observed in that
 "County. For if they should suffer particular Coun-
 ties

But allowed
 by the Parlia-
 ment, upon
 which they

“ ties to divide themselves from the rest of the King-
 “ dom, it would be a means of bringing all to Ruin
 “ and Destruction.” And therefore they farther de-
 “ clared, that “ neither the Lord *Fairfax*, nor the
 “ Gentlemen of *Yorkshire*, who were Parties to
 “ those Articles, nor any other Inhabitants of that
 “ County, were bound by any such agreement; but
 “ required them to pursue their former Resolutions,
 “ of Maintaining and Assisting the Parliament, in
 “ Defence of the Common Cause, according to the
 “ General Protestation wherein they were bound
 “ with the rest of the Kingdom, and against the
 “ Particular Protestation by themselves lately made;
 “ and according to such Orders and Commissions
 “ as they should receive from both Houses of Parlia-
 “ ment, from the Committee of the Lords and Com-
 “ mons appointed for the Safety of the Kingdom,
 “ or from the Earl of *Essex* Lord General.” And lest
 this their Declaration should not be of Power enough
 to Dissolve this Agreement, they published their
 Resolution, and directed that “ Mr. *Hotham*, and
 “ Sir *Edward Rhodes*, should proceed upon their
 “ former Instructions; and that they should have
 “ power to seize, and apprehend all Delinquents
 “ that were so Voted by the Parliament, and all
 “ such others, as Delinquents, as had, or did show
 “ themselves opposite and disobedient to the Orders
 “ and Proceedings of Parliament.”

Upon this Declaration, and Vote, not only young
Hotham fell to the practice of Acts of Hostility, with
 all Licence, out of the Garrison at *Hull*, but the
 Lord *Fairfax* himself, and all the Gentlemen of that

B O O K Party, who had, with that Protestation, signed
VI. the Articles, instead of resenting the reproach to themselves, tamely submitted to those unreasonable conclusions: and, contrary to their solemn Promise and Engagement, prepared themselves to bear a part in the War, and made all haste to Levy Men.

Upon so great a disadvantage were the King's Party in all places; who were so precise in promises, and their personal undertakings, that they believed they could not serve the King, and his Cause, if Their Reputation and Integrity were once blemished, though some particular Contract proved to his disadvantage: whilst the Others exposed their Honors for any present Temporary conveniencies, and thought themselves Absolved by any new Resolution of the Houses, to whose Custody their Honor, and Ingenuity was committed. The present disadvantage of this Rupture was greater to the King's Party there, than to the other. For (besides that many who concurred with them very frankly and solicitously in the Neutrality, separated themselves from them now there was a necessity of Action) they had neither Money to raise Men, nor Arms to arm them; so that the strength consisted in the Gentlemen themselves, and their Retinue; who, by the good Affections of the Inhabitants of *York*, were strong enough to secure one another within the Walls of that City. Then the Earl of *Cumberland*, in whom the chief power of Command was to raise Men and Money in a case of necessity, though he was a Person of entire devotion to the King, was in his nature Unactive, and utterly unexperienced in Affairs and Exigents of that Nature.

On the other hand, the opposite Party was strengthened and enabled by the strong Garrison of *Hull*, whence young *Hotham*, on all occasions, was ready to second them with his Troop of Horse, and to take up any well affected Person who was suspected to be Loyal; which drove all resolved Men from their Houses into *Tork*, where they only could be safe. The other could have what Men more they desired from *London*, and both ready Money from thence to *Hull*, and Ordinances to raise what they would in the County to pay them. *Leeds*, *Hallifax*, and *Bradford*, three very populous, and rich Towns (which depending wholly upon Clothiers too much maligned the Gentry) were wholly at their disposition. Their Neighbours in *Lincolnshire* were in a Body to second them, and Sir *John Gell* was on the same behalf possessed of *Derby*, and all that County, there being none that had the hardiness Yet, to declare there for the King. So that, if Sir *John Hotham's* wariness had not kept him from being active, and his Pride, and Contempt of the Lord *Fairfax*, upon whom the County chiefly depended, hindered him from seconding, and assisting his Lordship; or if any Man had Had the entire Command of those parts, and Forces, to have united them, the Parliament had, with very little resistance, been absolute Masters of all *Torkshire*; and, as easily of the City itself. But their want of Union in Particulars, though they agreed too well in the Main, gave the King's Party time to breathe, and to look about for their preservation. Thereupon, they sent to the Earl of *New-Castle*

B O O K for Assistance ; offering , “ if he would march into
VI. “ *Yorkshire* , they would join with him , and be
 “ entirely Commanded by him ; ” the Earl of *Cum-*
berland willingly offering to wave any Title to
 Command.

It was before remembered , that when the King
 left *York* , he had sent the Earl of *New-Castle* , as a
 Person of great Honor , and Interest in those parts ,
 to be Governor of *New-Castle* ; and so to secure that
 Port , that the Parliament might neither seize it , nor
 the *Scots* be bribed by it to come to the Assistance of
 their Brethren. Which Commission from the King ,
 his Lordship no sooner executed , without the least
 Hostility (for that Town received him with all pos-
 sible acknowledgments of the King’s goodness in
 sending him) but he was impeached by the House
 of Commons of High-Treason. From his going thither
 (which was in *August*) till toward the end of *Novem-*
ber , the Earl spent his time in disposing the People
 of *Northumberland* , and the Bishopric of *Durham* ,
 to the King’s Service , and to a right understanding of
 the matters in difference ; in the Fortifying *New-*
Castle , and the River ; where by that Harbour might
 only be in the King’s Obedience ; in raising a Garrison
 for that place , and providing Arms for a farther
 advance of the King’s Service. Then he provided
 for the Assistance of his Friends in *Yorkshire* , whose
 Condition grew every day more desperate. For the
 Parliament , finding the inconveniencies of having
 no Commander in Chief in those parts , had caused
 their Generalissimo , the Earl of *Essex* , to send a Com-
 mission to the Lord *Fairfax* , “ to Command all the

“ Forces of *Yorkshire*, and the adjacent Counties, **B O O K**
 “ in Chief;” by which, in less time than could be **VI.**
 reasonably imagined, he was able to draw together Fairfax made
 an Army of five or six thousand Horse and Foot; General of
 so that *York* must presently have been swallowed up. *Yorkshire* for
 the Parliam-
 ent

But, in the beginning of *December*, the Earl of The Earl of
New-Castle marched to their Relief; and having left *New-Castle*
 a good Garrison in *New-Castle*, and fixed such small comes from
New-Castle
 Garrisons in his way, as might secure his Communi- into *York*.
 cation with that Port, to which all his Ammunition
 was to be brought; with a Body of near three thou-
 sand Foot, and six or seven hundred Horse and
 Dragoons, without any Encounter with the Enemy
 (though they had threatened loud) he entered *York*;
 having lessened the Enemies strength, without Blood,
 both in Territories and Men. For, as soon as he
 entered *Yorkshire*, two Regiments raised in *Rich-*
mondshire, and *Cleveland*, dissolved of themselves;
 having it yet in their choice to dwell at Home, or to
 leave their Houses to new Comers. The Earl being
 now master of the North as far as *York*, thought
 rather of forming an Army, and providing Money
 to pay it, than of making any farther progress in the
 Winter; and therefore suffered the Lord *Fairfax*
 to enjoy the Southern part of that large rich County,
 till the Spring, and the improvement of his condi-
 tion, should enable him to advance: Yet few days
 passed without blows, in which the Parliament-
 Forces had usually the worst.

Shortly after the Earl's coming to *York*, General
King repaired to him, whom he made Lieutenant
 General of his Army; who, notwithstanding the

o o k unavoidable prejudice, in that Conjunction, of his
 VL being a *Scotch-man*, ordered the Foot with great
 wisdom and dexterity: the Charge of the Horse being
 at the same time committed to General *Goring*; who,
 by the Queen's favor, notwithstanding all former
 failings, was recommended to that Province, and
 quickly applied himself to Action: so that, though
 the Lord *Fairfax* kept *Selby*, and *Cawood*, both
 within a small distance from *York*, the Earl was abso-
 lute Master of the Field. And now the North yielded
 secure footing for those who had been unreasonably
 persecuted for their Obedience to the King, the
 Queen herself thought of returning into *England*.

Her Majesty had, from her first going into *Holland*,
 dexterously endeavoured to advance the King's
 Interest, and sent very great quantities of Arms
 and Ammunition to *New-Castle* (though, by the
 vigilance of the Parliament-Agents in those parts,
 and the power of their Ships, too much of it was
 intercepted) with some considerable Sums of Money,
 and good store of Officers; who, by the connivance
 of the Prince of *Orange*, came over to serve their
 own King. And from this extraordinary care of her
 Majesty's, and her known grace and favor to the
 Person of the Earl of *New-Castle*, who she well
 knew had contracted many Enemies by the eminency
 of his devotion to the King, that Army was by the
 Parliament stiled the *Queen's Army*, and the *Catholic*
Army, thereby to expose her Majesty the more to
 the rude malice of the People, and the Army to
 their prejudice; persuading them, "that it consist-
 ed of none but professed Papists, who intended

“ nothing but the extirpation of the Protestants , B O O K
 “ and establishing their own Profession.” VI.

About the middle of *February*, the Queen took Shipping from *Holland*, in a States Man of War, assigned by the Prince of *Orange* with others for her Convoy, and arrived safely in *Burlington-Bay*, upon the Coast of *Yorkshire*; where she had the patience to stay on Shipboard at Anchor, the space of two days, till the Earl had notice, “ to draw such a part “ of his Forces that way, as might secure her Land- “ ing, and wait on her to *York*,” which he no sooner did (and he did it with all imaginable expedition) but her Majesty came on Shore; and, for the present, was pleased to refresh herself in a convenient House upon the very Key, where all accommodations were made for her reception; there being many things of Moment to be unshipped before she could reasonably enter upon her Journey towards *York*. The Queen arrives at Burlington from Holland

The second day after the Queen's Landing, *Batten*, Vice-Admiral to the Earl of *Warwick* (who had waited to intercept her passage) with four of the King's Ships, arrived in *Burlington-Road*; and, finding that her Majesty was Landed, and that she lodged upon the Key, bringing his Ships to the nearest distance, being very early in the morning, discharged above a hundred Cannon (whereof many were laden with Cross-bar-shot) for the space of two hours upon the House where her Majesty was lodged; whereupon she was forced out of her Bed, some of the shot making way through her own Chamber; and to shelter herself under a Bank in the open

o o k Fields; which Barbarous and Treasonable Act, was
 VI. so much the more odious, in that the Parliament
 never so far took notice of it, as to disavow it. So
 that many believed it was very pleasing to, if not
 Commanded by Them; and that if the Ships had
 encountered at Sea, they would have left no hazard
 unrun to have destroyed her Majesty.

e Earl of
 w-Castle
 ed a Garri-
 at Newark

The Queen shortly after removed to *York*, and the
 King's affairs prospered to that degree, that, as the
 Earl of *New-Castle* had before fixed a Garrison at
Newark in *Nottinghamshire*, which kept the Forces
 of *Lincoln* from joining entirely with the Lord *Fair-
 fax*, and had with great Courage beaten off a formed
 Body of the Rebels who attempted it; so he now
 sent *Charles Cavendish*, the younger Brother of the
 Earl of *Devonshire*, with a Party Volant of Horse
 and Dragoons, into *Lincolnshire*; where, about the
 middle of *March*, he assaulted *Grantham*, a new
 Garrison of the Rebels; which he took, and in it
 above three hundred Prisoners, with all their Officers,
 Arms, and Ammunition: and, about the same time,
 Sir *Hugh Cholmondeley*, who had done very notable
 service to the Parliament, and oftner defeated the
 Earl of *New-Castle's* Troops (though he had been in
 truth hurried to that Party, rather by the engagement
 of Sir *John Hotham*, with whom he had long friend-
 ship. than by his own inclination) than any Officer
 of those parts, very frankly revolted to his Allegi-
 ance; and waiting on her Majesty for her Assurance
 of his Pardon, delivered up the Castle of *Scarborough*
 (a place of importance) to the King; the Command
 and Government whereof, was again by the Earl

r Hugh
 holmondeley
 igned up
 arborough
 castle to the
 Queen.

committed to him; which he discharged with Courage and singular Fidelity. By this means, and those successes, the Lord *Fairfax* quitted *Selby*, *Cawood*, and *Tadcaster*, and retired to *Pomfret*, and *Hallifax*: whereby the Earl was, upon the matter, possessed of that whole large County, and so able to help his Neighbours. This was the State of that part of the North which was under the Earl of *New-Castle's* Commission: For *Lancashire*, *Cheshire*, and *Shropshire*, were in a worse condition; of which, and the Neighbour-Counties, it will be necessary in the next place to say somewhat; and of those first which lie farthest off.

B O O K
VI.
The condition
at that time
of Lancashire,
Cheshire, and
Shropshire.

We have said before, that when the King left *Shrewsbury*, and marched to meet the Earl of *Essex* (which he did at *Edge-hill*) all his designs being to come to a Battle; and the opinion of most, that a Battle would determine all; he was to apply all the strength and forces he could possibly raise, to the increasing his Army; so that he left no Garrison behind him, but relied upon the Interest and Authority of the Lord *Strange* (who was, by the death of his Father, now Earl of *Derby*) to suppress all Commotions, and Insurrections, which might happen in the Counties of *Lancashire*, and *Cheshire*; which his Lordship was confident he should be able to do, and was then generally believed to have a greater Influence upon those two Counties, and a more absolute Command over the People in them, than any Subject in *England* had, in any other Quarter of the Kingdom. The Town of *Shrewsbury*, and that good County, where the King had been

BOOK VI. so prosperous (and by which the People were more engaged) he intrusted only to that good spirit that then possessed it, and to the Legal Authority of the Sheriffs, and Justices of the Peace. And it fared in those Counties as in all other parts of the Kingdom, that the number of those who desired to sit still, was greater than of those who desired to engage in either Party; so that they were generally inclined to Articles of Neutrality. And in *Cheeshire*, the active People of Both sides came to those Capitulations, with as much solemnity as had been in *Yorkshire*, and by the same Declaration of the Parliament (so much the Same, that there was no other difference but alterations of Names and Places) were absolved from the observation of them. And then Sir *William Bruerton*, a Gentleman, of a competent Fortune in that County, and Knight for that Shire in Parliament, but most notorious for a known aversion to the Government of the Church, bringing with him from *London*, a Troop of Horse, and a Regiment of Dragoons, marched thither to protect those who were of that Party, and, under such a shelter, to encourage them to appear.

The City of *Chester* was firm to the King, by the virtue of the Inhabitants, and Interest of the Bishop, and Cathedral-Men; but especially by the reputation, and dexterity of Mr. *O. Bridgman*, Son to the Bishop, and a Lawyer of very good estimation; who not only informed them of their duty, and encouraged them in it, but upon his Credit and Estate, both which were very good, supplied them with whatsoever was necessary for their defence; so

that they were not put to be Honest and Expensive together. But as they had no Garrison of Soldiers, so they had no Officer of skill and experience to manage, and direct that Courage which, at least, was willing to defend their own Walls; which they were now like to be put to. Therefore the King sent thither Sir *Nicholas Byron*, a Soldier of very good Command, with a Commission to be "Colonel-General of *Cheshire*, and *Shropshire*; and to be "Governor of *Chester*;" who being a Person of great affability, and dexterity, as well as Martial knowledge, gave great life to the designs of the well affected there; and, with the encouragement of some Gentlemen of *North-Wales*, in a short time raised such a power of Horse and Foot, as made often Skirmishes with the Enemy; sometimes with notable advantage, never with any signal loss. Sir *William Bruerton* fortified *Namptwich*, as the King's Party did *Chester*; from which Garrisons, containing both their Forces, they contended which should most prevail upon, that is most subdue, the Affections of the County, to declare for, and join with them. But the fair expectation of *Cheshire* was clouded by the storms that arose in *Lancashire*, where Men of no Name, and contemned Interest, by the mere credit of the Parliament, and frenzy of the People, on a sudden snatched that large and populous County, from their Devotion to the Earl of *Derby*.

The Town of *Manchester* had, from the beginning (out of that Factionous humor which possessed most Corporations, and the pride of their Wealth) opposed the King, and declared magisterially for the

BOOK VI. Parliament. But as a great part of the County consisted of Papists, of whose Insurrections they had made such use in the beginning of the Parliament, when they had a mind to Alarm the People with dangers; so it was confidently believed, that there was not one Man of ten throughout that County, who meant not to be dutiful, and loyal to the King: yet the restless spirit of the seditious Party was so sedulous, and industrious, and every one of the Party so ready to be engaged, and punctually to obey; and, on the other hand, the Earl of *Derby* so Unactive, and so uncomplying with those who were fuller of alacrity, and would have proceeded more vigorously against the Enemy; or, through want of experience, so irresolute, that instead of countenancing the King's Party in *Cheshire*, which was expected from him, the Earl, insensibly, found *Lancashire* to be almost possessed against him: the Rebels, every day, gaining, and fortifying all the strong Towns, and surprising his Troops, without any considerable Encounter. And yet, so hard was the King's condition, that though he knew those great misfortunes proceeded from want of Conduct, and of a vigorous and expert Commander, he thought it not safe to make any alteration, lest that Earl might be provoked, out of disdain to have any Superior in *Lancashire*, to manifest how much he could do Against him, though it appeared he could do little For him. Yet it was easily discerned, that his Ancient power there depended more upon the Fear, than Love of the People; there being very many, now in this time of Liberty, engaging themselves

against the King, that they might not be subject to that Lord's Commands.

B O O K
VI.

However, the King committing *Lancashire* still to his Lordship's care (whose Fidelity, without doubt, was blameless, whatever his Skill was) he sent the Lord *Capel* to *Shrewsbury*, with a Commission of "Lieutenant General of *Shropshire*, *Cheeshire*, and "North-Wales;" who, being a Person of great Fortune, and Honor, quickly engaged those parts in a cheerful Association; and raised a Body of Horse and Foot, that gave Sir *William Bruerton* so much trouble at *Namptwich*, that the Garrison at *Chester* had breath to enlarge it's Quarters, and to provide for it's own security; though the Enemy omitted no opportunity of infesting them, and gave them as much trouble as was possible. It cannot be denied but Sir *William Bruerton*, and the other Gentlemen of that Party, albeit their Educations, and course of life, had been very different from their present Engagements, and for the most part were very unpromising in matters of War, and therefore were too much contemned Enemies, executed their Commands with notable Sobriety, and indefatigable Industry (virtues not so well practised in the King's Quarters) insomuch as the best Soldiers who encountered with them, had no cause to despise them. It is true, they had no other straits, and difficulties to struggle with, than what proceeded from their Enemy; being always supplied with Money to pay their Soldiers, and with Arms to Arm them; whereby it was in their power not to grieve and oppress the People. And thereby (besides the spirit of Faction

B O O K that much governed) the Common-People were
VI. more devoted to them, and gave them all Intelligence of what might concern them; whereas they who were intrusted to govern the King's Affairs, had intolerable difficulties to pass through; being to raise Men without Money, to Arm them without Weapons (that is they had no Magazine to supply them) and to keep them together without Pay; so that the Country was both to feed, and Clothe the Soldiers; which quickly inclined them to remember only the Burden, and forget the Quarrel.

The difference in the temper of the Common-People of both sides was so great, that they who inclined to the Parliament, left nothing unperformed that might advance the Cause; and were incredibly vigilant and industrious to cross, and hinder whatsoever might promote the King's: whereas they who Wished well to Him, thought they had performed their duty in doing So, and that they had done enough For him, in that they had done nothing Against him.

Though, by this sending the Lord *Capel*, those Counties of *Shropshire*, and *Cheeshire*, with the Assistance of *North-Wales*, kept those parts so near their Obedience, that their Disobedience was not yet pernicious to the King, in sending Assistance to the Earl of *Essex* against his Majesty, or to the Lord *Fairfax* against the Earl of *New-Castle*; yet those Counties which lay in the line between *Oxford* and *York*, were, upon the matter, entirely possessed by the Enemy. The Garrison of *Northampton* kept that whole County in obedience to the Parliament, save, that from

The condition
 at that time, of
 the Counties
 between Ox-
 ford, and York.

Banbury the adjacent Parts were forced to bring some contribution thither. In *Warwickshire* the King had no footing; the Castle of *Warwick*, the City of *Coventry*, and his own Castle of *Killingworth*, being fortified against him. The Lord *Grey*, Son to the Earl of *Stamford*, had the Command of *Leicestershire*; and had put a Garrison into *Leicester*. *Derbyshire*, without any visible Party in it for the King, was under the power of Sir *John Gell*, who had fortified *Derby*. And all these Counties, with *Staffordshire*, were united in an Association against the King under the Command of the Lord *Brook*; who was, by the Earl of *Essex*, made General of that Association; a Man cordially Disaffected to the Government of the Church, and upon whom that Party had a great dependance. This Association received no other Interruption from, or for the King, than what Colonel *Hastings* gave; who, being a younger Son to the Earl of *Huntington*, had appeared eminently for the King from the beginning; having raised a good Troop of Horse with the first, and, in the head thereof, charged at *Edge-hill*.

After the King was settled at *Oxford*, Colonel *Hastings*, with his own Troop of Horse only, and some Officers which he easily gathered together, went with a Commission into *Leicestershire* "of Colonel General of that County, and fixed himself at *Ashby de la Zouch*," the House of the Earl of *Huntington*, his Father, who was then living; which he presently fortified; and, in a very short time, by his Interest there, raised so good a Party of Horse and Foot, that he maintained many Skirmishes with

B O O K the Lord Grey: the King's Service being the more advanced there, by the notable Animosities between the two Families of *Huntington* and *Stamford*; between whom the County was divided passionately enough, without any other Quarrel. And now the Sons fought the Public Quarrel, with their Private Spirit and Indignation. But the King had the advantage in His Champion, the Lord Grey being a young Man of no eminent parts, and only backed with the Credit and Authority of the Parliament: whereas Colonel *Hastling's* though a younger Brother, by his personal reputation, had supported his Family; and, by the interest of It, and the Affection that People bore to him, brought, no doubt, an addition of Power to the very Cause. Infomuch as he not only defended himself against the Forces of the Parliament in *Leicestershire*, but disquieted Sir *John Gell* in *Derbyshire*, and fixed some convenient Garrisons in *Staffordshire*.

About the same time, some Gentlemen of that County, rather well affected than experienced, before they were well enough provided to go through their work, seized on the Close in *Lichfield* for the King; a place naturally strong, and defended with a Moat, and a very high and thick Wall; which in the Infancy of the War was thought a good Fortification. To suppress this growing Force, within the limits of his Association, the Lord *Brook* advanced with a formed Body of Horse, Foot, and Cannon; part drawn from the Earl of *Essex's*, Army, and the rest out of the Garrisons of *Coventry*, and *Warwick*; and without any resistance, entered the

the City of *Lichfield*; which, being unfortified, was open to all Comers. The Number in the Close was not great, nor their Provisions such as should have been, and very well might have been, made; so that he made no doubt of being speedily Master of it: Sir *John Gell* having brought up a good addition of strength to him from *Derby*. He was so far from apprehending any danger from the besieged, that himself lodged in a House within Musquet-shot of the Close; where, the very day he meant to assault it, sitting in his Chamber, and the Window open, he was, from the Wall of the Close, by a Common-Soldier, shot with a Musquet in the Eye; of which he instantly died without speaking a word.

The Lord
Brock shot in
besieging the
Castle of
Lichfield
which was
soon after
taken by Sir
John Gell.

There were many discourses and observations upon his death, that it should be upon Sir *Chad's* day (being the second day of *March*) by whose Name he being a Bishop shortly after the planting of Christianity in this Island, that Church had been anciently called. And it was reported, that in his Prayer, that very Morning (for he used to pray publicly though his Captain were in the presence) he wished "that
" if the Cause he were in, were not right and just, he
" might be presently cut off." They who were acquainted with him, believed him to be well natured, and just; and rather seduced, and corrupted in his understanding than perverse and malicious. Whether his Passions or Conscience swayed him, he was undoubtedly one of those who could have been with most difficulty reconciled to the Government of Church or State: And therefore his death was looked upon as no ill Omen to Peace, and was exceedingly

lamented by His Party; which had scarce a more absolute confidence in any Man than in him. However, it brought not that relief to the besieged in the Close as was believed it would; for the same Forces under Sir *John Gell* proceeded so vigorously in the work, and they Within so faintly, and unskilfully, that without any of that distress which Men thought it might bear, and which it did. within a short time after, bear against the King, the place was yielded without other conditions than of Quarter; by which many Persons became Prisoner, of too good Quality to have their Names remembered.

By this prize, the Spirits of that Party were much exalted, and the King's Party in those parts as much cast down. Yet some Gentlemen betook themselves to the Town of *Stafford*, and having too much declared for the King, when they thought *Lichfield* would have been of strength to secure them, to hope to live unhurt at their Houses, resolved to defend that place; against which Sir *John Gell* drew his late fleshed Troops. But the Earl of *Northampton* (who intended the relief of *Lichfield*, if they had Had any patience to expect it) with a strong Party of Horse, and Dragoons, from his Garrison of *Banbury*, came seasonably to their Succour, and put himself into the Town; and, the same Night, beat up a Quarter of the Enemies, in which he killed and took above a hundred of their Horse. Sir *John Gell* retired so far as to meet with Sir *William Bruerton*, who, from *Namptwich*, was coming to join with him for the subduing of *Stafford*; and having done that, resolved to march in a Body for the clearing the other Counties

When they were joined, being near three thousand Foot, and Horse, with a good Train of Artillery, they moved back towards *Stafford*; imagining the Earl of *Northampton* would meet them without the Walls: and it so fell out; for the Earl no sooner heard that the Rebels were drawing towards the Town: but he drew out his Party to encounter them imagining it could be only *Gell*, whose Numbers he understood, and whose Courage he much undervalued.

It was on a *Sunday*, about the middle of *March*, when in the afternoon, he marched out of *Stafford*; his Party consisting of Horse, and Dragoons, and some few Foot, the whole Number being under one thousand, and found the Enemy, in very good Order, expecting them upon a place called *Hopton-Heath*, some two Miles from *Stafford*. Though the Number was more than double to the Earl's, yet the Heath seeming very fair, the breadth of it being more than Musquet shot from Enclosure on each side, and the number of his Horse being at least equal to the other, he resolved to charge them; and accordingly Did, with so good success, that he totally routed that part of their Horse; and rallying again his Men, he charged the other part of their Horse which stood more in shelter of their Foot; and so totally routed, and dispersed them, that the Enemy had scarce a Horse left upon the Field; and took likewise from them eight pieces of Cannon.

In this second Charge, the Earl of *Northampton* being engaged on the execution, very near, or among their Foot, had his Horse killed under him. So that

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the Earl of
Northampton
and on Hop-
pen Heath near
Bosworth,
being first
vanquished
the Enemies
before that
opposed him.

his own Horse (according to their unhappy practice) with too much fury pursuing the Chase, he was left encompassed by his Enemies. What His behaviour was afterwards, and Their Carriage towards Him, can be known only by the Testimony of the Rebels; who confessed, that after he was on his feet, he killed with his own hand the Colonel of Foot who made first haste to him; and that after his head-piece was stricken off with the Butt end of a Musquet, they offered him Quarter; which, they say, he refused; answering, "that he scorned to take Quarter from such base Rogues, and Rebels, as They were." After which, he was slain by a blow with a Halbert on the hinder-part of his head, receiving, at the same time another deep wound in his face.

All this time the Enemies Foot stood, which (after their Horse were dispersed) Sir *Thomas Byron*, who Commanded the Prince of Wales's Regiment, a Gentleman of great Courage, and of very good Conduct, Charged with good execution. But the Night came on apace, and the Field which they thought so fair, was found full of Coal pits, and holes dangerous for their Horse; so that they thought fit to forbear farther Actions, till they might have the Morning's light; and stood all that Night in the Field. When the Morning appeared, there was no Enemy to be seen. For as soon as the Fight ended, and the Night drew on, that they were unperceived, they had left the Field, in hope that their scattered Horse would find them in Quarters more remote from the danger. The Victorious Party was so harassed with duty, and tired with the Fight, so cast

down with the loss of their General, and so destitute of Officers to Direct and Command, what was next to be done (For the Lord Compton, the Earl's eldest Son, had received a shot in the Leg; Sir Thomas Byron a shot in the Thigh, whereby they were not able to keep the Field; and many other Officers hurt) that they retired to refresh themselves at *Stafford*, after they had taken the Spoil of the Field and buried their Dead.

In this Fight, which was sharp, and short, there were killed and taken Prisoners, of the Parliament-Party, above two hundred, and more than that number wounded. For, the Horse Charging among their Foot, more were hurt than killed. Eight pieces of their Cannon, and most of their Ammunition was likewise taken. Of the Earl's Party were slain but five-and-twenty, whereof there were two Captains, some inferior Officers, and the rest Common-Men: but there were as many hurt, and those of the chief Officers. They who had all the Insigues of Victory, but their General, thought themselves undone; whilst the other side, who had escaped in the Night, and made a hard shift to carry his dead Body with them, hardly believed they were losers:

*Et, velut æquali bellatum forte fuisset,
Componit cum classe virum——*

The truth is, a greater Victory had been an unequal recompense for such a loss. He was a Person of great Courage, Honor, and Fidelity, and not well known till his Evening; having, in the ease, and plenty, and luxury of that too happy time, indulged to himself

O O R VI. with that licence which was then thought necessary to great Fortunes: but from the beginning of these Distractions, as if he had been awakened out of a Lethargy. he never proceeded with a luke-warm temper. Before the Standard was set up, he appeared in *Warwickshire* against the Lord *Brook*. and as much upon his own Reputation as the Justice of the Cause (which was not so well then understood) discountenanced, and drove him out of that County. Afterwards he took the Ordnance from *Banbury Castle*, and brought them to the King. As soon as an Army was to be raised, he Levied, with the first, upon his own charge, a Troop of Horse, and a Regiment of Foot; and (not like some other Men. who warily distributed their Family to both sides. one Son to serve the King, whilst his Father, or another Son, engaged as far for the Parliament) entirely dedicated all his Children to the Quarrel; having four Sons Officers under him, whereof three Charged that day in the Field: And, from the time he submitted himself to the profession of a Soldier, no Man more punctual upon Command, no Man more diligent and vigilant in Duty. All distresses he bore like a Common-Man and all wants, and hardneses, as, if he had never known plenty, or ease; most prodigal of his Person to danger; and would often say, "that if he out lived these Wars, he was certain " never to have so noble a death." So that it is not to be wondered. if, upon such a stroke, the Body that felt it, thought it had lost more than a Limb.

As soon as it was known where the Enemy rested after their Retreat, the young Earl of *Northampton*

sent a Trumpet to Sir *John Gell*, to desire the Body of his Father, that he might give it such decent burial as became him. *Gell* and *Bruerton*, jointly, by Letter, demanded, "in exchange for the dead Body, all their Ammunition, Prisoners, and Cannon, they had lost at the Battle;" which demands being so unreasonable, and against the Law of Arms, the Earl sent again to them, to desire, "that if they would not return the Corps, that his Surgeon might have leave to embalm it, where- by it might be preserved to receive those rights, when they should be willing to gratify him, which, he presumed, upon more dispassioned thoughts, they would be." Their Answer to this was as unreasonable as the other, "That they would neither send the Body, nor permit his Surgeons to come to embalm it;" presuming, it is probable, that the piety of the Son would have prevailed to have their unheard of Propositions complied with.

And so We shall, for the present, leave these parts, and visit the Principality of *Wales*; of which, hitherto, very little hath been said; and from the Affection whereof, the King had, from the beginning, a very great benefit; it having supplied him with three or four good Regiments of Foot, in which many of their Gentry were engaged, before the Battle of *Edge-hill*.

The State of the Principality of *Wales* at that time.

It hath been before remembered, that the Marquis of *Hertford* drew with him out of *Wales*, and brought to *Oxford*, about *Christmas*, near two thousand Men; leaving *Wales* guarded only with the Courage and Fidelity of the Gentry, and Inhabitants. After

BOOK VI. that North *Wales* lying most convenient to back *Chester*, and *Shrewsbury*, which places, whilst the Enemy was Master of the Field, received their chief supplies of Men and Provisions from thence; the King always put it under the Government of those to whom he committed those parts. South-*Wales* which is much the larger, and richer part of that Dominion, he committed to the charge of the Lord *Herbert*, eldest Son to the Marquis of *Worcester*; whom he made his Lieutenant General, adding *Monmouthshire* to his Commission.

the Lord Herbert
Son of the
Marquis of Worcester
made
Lieutenant General of
South Wales.

There were, in the opinion of many, great objections against committing that Employment to that noble Lord, whose Person many Men loved, and very few hated. First, he had no knowledge, or experience in the Martial Profession; then his Religion, being of that sort of Catholics the People rendered odious, by accusing it to be most Jesuited, Men apprehended would not only produce a greater brand upon the King of favoring Papists and Popery, than he had been yet reproached with (for though he had some Papists entertained in his Armies, yet all Men trusted by him in Superior Commands, were Men of unblemished integrity in the Protestant Religion: and in all his Armies, he had but one General Officer, of the contrary Religion, Sir *Arthur Aston*, whom the Papists notwithstanding would not acknowledge for a Papist) This gave opportunity and excuse to many Persons of Quality, and great Intrest in those Counties (between whom and that Lord's Family, there had been perpetual Feuds, and Animosities) to lessen their Zeal to the King's Cause,

out of jealousy of the other's Religion; and those Contestations had been lately improved with some sharpness, by the Lord *Herbert's* Marriage towards the Lord Marquis of *Hertford*, during the time of his Residence there; when, out of vanity to magnify his own power, he had not showed that due regard to that of the other, which he should have had. And no doubt, if he had been of that mind, it would much more have advanced the King's Service, if he would have contributed his full Assistance to another, who more popularly might have borne the Tide of such a Command.

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But on the other side, the necessity of disposing those parts, divided from the rest of the Kingdom, under the Command of some Person of Honor and Interest, was very visible; and the expedition in doing it was as necessary; the Parliament being possessed of *Glocester*, and *Bristol*, and so having such an influence upon the Trade and Livelihood of that People, by their absolute Command of the *Severn*, that except there were extraordinary care of keeping them, they would be quickly lost. Besides that, at the same time, there was discourse, in the Houses, "of sending the Earl of *Pembroke* thither," whose Estate was very great in those parts, and his Reputation equal. The Parliament had already such footing in *Pembrokeshire*, that many of the principal Gentlemen had declared for Them; and the Harbour of *Milford Haven* gave their Fleet opportunity to give them all supplies, and relief. This being the State of those parts, the Lord *Herbert* not only offered, but desired to receive that Command; and engaged

B O O K himself, “ not only to secure it from the Opposition,
 VI. “ and Malignity of the other Party, but, before the
 “ Spring, to raise such a strength of Horse, and Foot,
 “ and to provide such an Equipage to march with,
 “ that might reduce *Glocester*, and be then added to
 “ the King’s Army, when he should be ready to take
 “ the Field;” and all this so much at his own charge (for
 his Father, who was well able, would furnish Money,
 as was pretended, upon the King’s promise to repay
 him, when he should be restored to his own) “ that
 “ he would receive no part of the King’s Revenue,
 “ or of such Money, as his Majesty could be able to
 “ draw for the supply of his own more immediate
 “ occasions.”

This was a very great offer, and such as no Man
 else could so reasonably make. For the Marquis of
Worcester was generally reputed the greatest Monied
 Man of the Kingdom; and probably, might not
 think it an unchristy thing, rather to disburse it for
 the King, who might be able to repay it, than to
 have it taken from him by the other Party; which
 would be hardly questionable if They prevailed. The
 Lord *Herbert* himself was a Man of more than ordi-
 nary Affection and Reverence to the Person of the
 King, and one, who, he was sure, would neither
 deceive nor betray him. For his Religion, it might
 work upon Himself, but could not disquiet other
 Men. For though he were a Papist, he was never
 like to make others so; and his Reputation and
 Interest was very great with many Gentlemen of
 those Counties, who were not all friends to his Reli-
 gion. It was not possible to employ any Person of

Interest, and Power in those parts; and there were many objections from the Nature, and Manners of that People. against a mere Stranger, against whom there would not be some Faction, and Animosity; for the Emulation, and Dissension between Families was general, and notorious: and therefore it would be best to chuse such a one, who was like to have a greater Faction for him, than against him. And it was to be hoped that the old Grudges, and Prejudices, which had been rather against the House of *Worcester* and the Popish Religion professed there; than against the Person of this Lord, would have been composed, and declined by his fair and gentle Carriage towards all Men (as in truth he was of a civil, and obliging Nature) and by the public-heartedness of those, who, for the Cause, and Conscience sake, would, it was hoped sacrifice all trivial and private Contentions to a Union that must vindicate the Religion, Honor, and Justice of the Kingdom.

Upon these reasons, and these presumptions, the King granted such a Commission, as is before mentioned, to the Lord *Herbert*; who, with more expedition than was expected by many, or by others believed possible, raised a Body of above fifteen hundred Foot, and near five hundred Horse, very well and sufficiently Armed; which increased the merit of the Service.

The Lord
Herbert raises
a little Army.

The Horse he put under the Command of his Brother, the Lord *John Somerset*, a maiden Soldier too; and the Foot under Colonel *Lawly*, whom he made his Major General, a bold and a sprightly Officer. About the middle of *February* he marched towards

B O O K *Glocester*, with an ill Omen at his setting out; for a
VI. Rabble of the Country-People being got together, without Order, or Officer of Name, Barricadoed a little Village in the Forest of *Dean*, called *Cover* (through which he was to pass) and refused to give him entrance; and out of a Window killed Colonel *Lawly*, and two Officers more, without hurting a Common-Soldier; whereby that Body was destitute of any Person of experience to Command them. However the Lord *Herbert*, who was himself seldom with his Forces, shortly after placed Colonel *Brett* in that Command; who, without any skirmish of importance, marched through the Forest of *Dean*, and fixed a Quarter, which contained his whole Body, at the *Vineyard*, the Bishop of *Glocester's* Palace, within less than half a Mile of *Glocester*. And by that means, there being only a long Bridge over the *Severn*, by which Men could come out or go into *Glocester*, he fully Blocked up the Town on that side, expecting that Prince *Maurice* from *Cirencester*, should take equal care to distress it on the other; which he did to a good degree.

But Sir *William Waller*, with a light Party of Horse and Dragoons, near two thousand, from the Earl of *Essex's* Army, had made a quick March through *Wiltshire* (after his taking of *Chichester*) and taking, with little loss and trouble, a small Garrison of the King's, consisting of about six or seven score at *Malmsbury*, before it was fortified, or provided, made a face of looking towards *Cirencester*; where when he found he was expected, by a sudden Night-march, in which he was very dexterous and success-

ful, he posted to the River of *Severn*, six Miles West of *Glocester*, from whence he had appointed many flat Boats to meet him; and in them, in the light day, the Guard of the River being either Treacherously, or Sottishly neglected by the Lord *Herbert's* Forces, transported his whole Body, which, upon the advantage of that Pass, might have been resisted by a few Men. Hereupon the consternation was so great among the new *Welsh* Soldiers, very few of their Officers having ever seen an Enemy, that though their Works were too good to be entered by Horse, and Dragoons; though the Avenues were but narrow, in all which they had Cannon planted, and their Numbers very near, if not fully, equal to the Enemy; upon the advance of Sir *William Waller* upon them, without giving, or receiving blow, they fairly sent out to Treat; and as kindly delivered up Themselves, and their Arms, upon the single grant of Quarter: A Submission so like a Stratagem, that the Enemy could hardly trust it. Yet, in the end, they made a shift to put near thirteen hundred Foot, and three Troops of Horse, Prisoners into *Glocester*, the Lord *Herbert* himself being at that time at *Oxford*, and the Lord *John Somerset* with three or four Troops at a safe distance from the rest.

Is surpris'd by
Sir William
Waller, and
Routed

This was the end of that Mushroom Army, which grew up and perished so soon, that the loss of it was scarce apprehended at *Oxford*, because the Strength, or rather the Number, was not understood. But if the Money, which was laid out in Raising, Arming, and Paying that Body of Men, which never

B O O K advanced the King's Service in the least degree. had
VI. been brought into the King's receipt at *Oxford*, to have been employed to the most advantage, I am persuaded the War might have been ended the next Summer. For I have heard the Lord *Herbert* say, "that those preparations, and the other, which by that Defeat were rendered useless, cost above "threescore thousand pounds;" whereof, though much came from the Marquis's Coffers, yet, no doubt, the general Contributions from the Catholics made a good part: and very considerable Sums were received by him of the King's Revenue upon Wardships, and other ways: for it was a common practice in those times, for Men to get into employments upon promises, that they would not do this or that, without which no body else would undertake that Service; and being, upon those terms, received into it, they immediately did the other, because no other Man would do the Service without it.

The same of this prodigious Victory so subdued all those parts, that Sir *William Waller*, with the same spirit of celerity, and attended with the same Success, flew to *Hereford*; and though a walled Town, and replenished with a Garrison, had That likewise delivered to him upon the same terms as the other was; and from thence (being with more confidence refused to be admitted into *Worcester*, than he thought reasonable to require it) passed to *Tewkesbury*; which he likewise surpris'd, being newly Garrisoned; his motion being so quick, that though Prince *Maurice* attended him with all possible diligence, he could never farther engage him than in light

Sir W. Waller takes Hereford, and Tewkesbury: both which he presently left.

Skirmishes; and, having taken this progress, returned to *Gloucester*; and from thence to the Earl of *Essex's* Army; having made no other use of his Conquests, than the dishonoring so many places, which had so quietly yielded to him; into which (for he fixed no one Garrison) the King's Forces immediately entered again. So that his Majesty's Quarters continued the same they were, harassed only, and discountenanced, nothing straitened by this Incurſion; and the Lord *Herbert* again intended new Levies.

Having now, with as much clearness as I could, remembered the true State of the King's Affairs, and the condition of the Kingdom, at the end of this year 1642, with which I intend to conclude this sixth Book; I shall, before I return to *Oxford*, to conclude the year, briefly call to remembrance the disconsolate State of *Ireland*; of which advantage was always taken against the King, to render him odious to the People, as if he countenanced, at least not sufficiently abhorred, that wicked, and unnatural Rebellion. And this Imputation was with so great Art insinuated, that it got credit with many; insomuch as I have heard some, who could make no other Excuse for adhering to the Parliament, say, "they were persuaded that the King favored those Rebels;" which, they said, "could not be without some design upon the Religion, Liberty, and Prosperity of *England*." Whereas I can aver truly, upon as good grounds, as ever any Man spoke the heart of another, that the King always looked upon it, as the most groundless, bloody, and wicked

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The State of
Ireland at
that time with
reference to
the difference
between the
King and the
two Houses
there.

B O O K VI. Rebellion, that ever possessed the Spirits of that People; and was not more grieved at any one circumstance of the Domestic distractions, than, as it hindered him from chastising, and taking Vengeance upon the Other : which from his Soul he desired.

But in this discourse of *Ireland*, it cannot be expected that I should neither do I intend to mention all the memorable Actions (in which were great Instances of God's own detestation of those inhuman Rebels, by the signal Victories he gave against them) or the other Transactions within that Kingdom; but shall remember no more of that business, than had immediate reference to, and dependance on, the difference between the King and the two Houses of Parliament.

It is said before, that when the first visible rupture was declared between them, which was in the business of *Hull* (which the King understood to be a direct levying of War against him) in the Protestation made by his Majesty, "that he would no farther treat, or concur with them, in any Acts proposed by them; till he first received reparation, or satisfaction in that particular;" he always excepted what should any way concern *Ireland*: in which he offered to consent to whatsoever might reasonably conduce to the reducing those Rebels, and did, after that, concur in some Propositions of that Nature. Yet it is certain that, from that time, the two Houses were so busy in preparing the War for *England*, that they did very little prepare for the War of *Ireland*; save only by some small supplies of Money

Money and Provisions. The King objected to them,
 “ the employing the Monies, raised, by Act of
 “ Parliament, for the preservation and reduction of
 “ *Ireland*, with a special clause that the same should
 “ not be diverted to any other use whatsoever, in
 “ the supporting the unnatural War, and Rebellion
 “ against his Majesty; particularly one hundred
 “ thousand pounds at one time; and that many Sol-
 “ diers raised under pretence of being sent into
 “ *Ireland*, were, contrary to their expectation and
 “ engagement, forced to serve under the Earl of
 “ *Essex* against the King;” of which, he named,
 Sir *Faithful Fortescue's* Regiment of Horse, and the
 Lord *Wharton's*, and the Lord *Kerry's* Regiments
 of Foot.

To this they answered, “ that albeit they had,
 “ upon the urgent occasions of this Kingdom, some-
 “ times made use of Monies raised, and collected
 “ for *Ireland*; yet that they had in due time repaid it,
 “ and that the other Affairs had never suffered by the
 “ Loan: And for the Men, that it proceeded from
 “ his Majesty's own default; for after they had raised
 “ them, with a serious intention to send them into
 “ *Ireland*, under the Command of the Lord *Wharton*,
 “ the King refused to grant a Commission to him to
 “ transport them, and so they had been compelled
 “ to use them in their own Service here ”

The King replied, “ that it appeared, they had
 “ diverted that Money to other Uses than those for
 “ which it was provided; which was manifestly
 “ unlawful; and that it did not appear they had
 “ again reimbursed it, because very little supply was

BOOK VI. "sent thither. and very much wanted: and for the
 "Soldiers, that They first levied them, without
 "his Majesty's leave; which they had always be-
 "fore asked, for their other Levies; and being
 "levied, they desired a Commission for the Lord
 "Wharton to Command them absolutely, without
 "any dependance upon the Lord Lieutenant of
 "Ireland; which had been never heard of, and
 "which his Majesty refused; but offered such a
 "Commission as was granted to other Men."

On the other hand, they objected to the King,
 "the seizing some Cart-Horses at *Chester*, provided
 "for the Train of Artillery for *Ireland*; that his
 "Forces had taken many Clothes, and Provisions,
 "on the Road, which were going to *Chester* to be
 "transported thither for the relief of the Soldiers;
 "and that he entertained, and countenanced Men
 "in his Court, which were Favorers or Actors
 "in that Rebellion:" naming the Lord Viscount
Costeloe, and the Lord *Taffe*, which gave great um-
 brage to those who were well affected, and as great
 encouragement to the Rebels there.

To the first, the King confessed, "he found about
 "sixscore Horses at *Chester*, which had long lain
 "there; and, at his remove from *Nottingham*,
 "knowing, the other Horse and Men, raised for
 "*Ireland*, were then marching with the Earl of
 "*Essex* against him, he knew not, but these like-
 "wise might be so employed, and therefore in his
 "own necessity took them for his own draughts.
 "For the Clothes, which had been taken by his
 "Soldiers, that it proceeded by the default of the

“ Parliament; who, after the War was begun, had
 “ sent those Carriages through His Quarters, with-
 “ out sending to his Majesty for a Safe-Conduct,
 “ or giving any notice to him of it, till after they
 “ were taken: that it was within two Miles of Co-
 “ ventry (which was then in Rebellion) that those
 “ Clothes were taken; and that, as soon as he knew
 “ they were designed for *Ireland*, his Majesty had
 “ used the best means he could to recover them; but
 “ that the Soldiers, who were almost naked, had
 “ divided them for their own Supplies; and his
 “ Majesty offered to give a Safe-Conduct at all times
 “ for whatsoever should be designed for *Ireland*.”

The occasion of the other reproach, “ for coun-
 “ tenancing Persons who adhered to the Rebels,
 “ was this.” The Lords, *Dillon* [Viscount *Coffetoe*]
 and *Taffe*, had, four Months before, passed out of
Ireland into *England*, having never been in consort
 with the Rebels, but so much trusted by them, that
 they desired, by Their hands, to address a Petition
 to the King; humble enough, desiring “ only to be
 “ heard, and offering to submit to his Majesty’s
 “ single Judgment.” With this Petition, and all
 other Instructions, as they pretended, these Lords
 acquainted the Lords Justices, and Council of *Ire-*
land; who were so well satisfied with the Persons
 employed, that they granted their Safe-Pass, and
 sent Letters by them of Testimony. They were no
 sooner Landed in *England*, but they were appre-
 hended, and sent Prisoners to the Parliament, and
 by them committed with all strictness, “ as Agents
 “ employed by the Rebels of *Ireland* to the King;”

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and that Circumstance inforced, and spread among the People, with all licentious glosses against the King; who, for that reason, took no notice of their restraint, though from his Ministers he received advertisement of the truth of the whole business. After some time was spent in close Imprisonment, these Lords, by Petition, and all other Addresses they could make, pressed to be brought to any kind of Examination and Trial; of which they found no other benefit, than that, upon this importunity, their Imprisonment was less close; and, by degrees, under a formal restraint (which though more pleasant, was not less costly) had the liberty of *London*, and from thence, after four Months restraint, without being formally charged with any crime, or brought to any Trial, which they often desired, they escaped, and came to *York*; whither a Messenger from the House of Commons followed them, and demanded them as Prisoners.

Many were of opinion, that they should have been delivered back; foreseeing that the Parliament would press the scandal of sheltering them much to the King's disadvantage; and any imputations, "of countenancing the Rebels of *Ireland*, found more credit, and made deeper impression with the People, than any other discourses of "protecting Malig-
"nants, and Delinquents." On the other side, it was thought, unreasonable, to remit Men to an Imprisonment, which appeared to have been unjust by their not being proceeded against in so long time; especially when their coming to the King would be declared such a crime, that it would be

now in their Enemies power to cause them to be punished; which before they could not do; at best, it were to deliver them up to the Serjeant of the House of Commons, from whence no Innocence could redeem them, without paying such vast fees, as would amount to a greater Sum than they could probably be supplied with. So that the King, who wished that they had rather gone any whither than where He was, resolved to take no notice of their escape. And so they continued in His Quarters, and put themselves into the Troops; where they behaved themselves with good Courage, and frankly engaged their Persons in all dangerous Enterprises.

In these Jealousies, and Contests, the King being visibly and confessedly unable to send Succours of any kind thither, and the Parliament having enough else to do, and, in truth, not taking so much pains to preserve it, as to impute the loss of it to the King, poor *Ireland* got very small relief. The Earl of *Leicester*, Lord Lieutenant of that Kingdom, had received his despatch from the King, before he went to *Shrewsbury*. But when the King thought he would have gone directly to *Chester*, and so to *Ireland*, his Lordship returned to *London*; which increased the King's jealousy, and prejudice to him; which his former Carriage, and a Letter writ lately by him from *Nottingham*, to the Earl of *Northumberland*, and by Order of Parliament printed, had begot to a great degree. Shortly after his return to *London*, the House of Commons demanded "to see the Instructions he had received from the King;" which, as it was unreasonable in them, so he had received

express Command from the King, "not to communicate them" However, alter he had avoided it as long as he could, and They continued Peremptory in the demand, in the end, he produced them to be perused by the Committee of both Houses. The truth is, the Earl's condition was very slippery, and almost impossible to be safely managed by the most dexterous Person.

He was designed to that employment by the King, shortly upon the death of the Earl of *Strafford* (or rather before; not without some advice from that Earl) with as great circumstances of grace and favor, as could be; and as a Person, of whom entirely the King assured himself, being then so ungracious to the Parliament, that as there were some sharp glances at him in that time (which are before remembered) so nothing preserved him from a public exception, but the Interest of the Earl of *Northumberland*, whose Sister he had married; whom that Party was not willing to irreconcile. After the Rebellion was broke out in *Ireland*, and the King had committed the carrying on the War to the Houses, he thought it absolutely necessary for his Province, to render himself as gracious to that People as was possible; and labored That with so good Effect, and Industry, that he omitted that care which should have been observed in continuing his Interest at Court. For the King and Queen grew every day less satisfied with him; which sure he did not with wariness enough provide against, though, I believe, he had never unfaithful purposes towards either of them; but did sadly project, by his demeanour, and interest

in the Houses, to provide so well for *Ireland*, and to go thither in so good a condition, that, being once there, he might be able to serve the King as he should be required.

But one Man is rarely able to act both those parts: For his showing his Instructions, he gave a reason, which, if he had been free from all other objections, might appear no ill excuse: "He knew his Instructions were such, that, being perused by the Committee, could by no misconstruction, or possible perversion, be wrested to the King's disadvantage;" as indeed they never were able, nor ever attempted, to fix any reproach from them upon the King. "Whereas, after they were so peremptorily required, if he should have as peremptorily refused to submit, they would have concluded that there had been somewhat unjustifiable in them, and upon that jealousy made no scruple of publishing the worst reproaches upon his Majesty. And it may be, he was not without an imagination, that if by this contest he had drawn the displeasure of the two Houses upon him, as could not be avoided, his misfortune at Court might have suffered that contest to have depressed him. And when he left the King between *Nottingham* and *Shrewsbury*, his condition was so low at Court, that a Man might have imagined his interest would be best preserved by being within the Verge of the Parliament's Protection. As his return to *London* was besides the King's expectation, so his stay there was longer than seemed to be intended by his own proposal; for he stayed there above two Months, till after the Battle of

o o n *Edge-hill*, and both Parties being fixed in their
 VI. Winter-Quarters; and then, without waiting again
 on the King, though *Oxford* was very few Miles
 out of his way, about the end of *November*, he
 went to *Chester*, with a purpose of transporting him-
 self for *Ireland*, but without the least appearance of
 addition of Strength, or Provisions from the Parlia-
 ment; neither were their Ships there ready to trans-
 port him.

About the end of *November*, four Officers of the
 Army in *Ireland*, Sir *James Montgomery*, Sir *Hardress*
Waller, Colonel *Arthur Hill*, and Colonel *Audly*
Mervin, having been employed from *Ireland* to so-
 licit the Parliament for Succours, came from *London*
 to *Oxford*, and delivered a Petition to the King; in
 which they told him, " that they had addressed
 " themselves to the Parliament for supplies, whose
 " sense of their Miseries, and Inclination to redress
 " them, appeared very tender to them; but the
 " present distempers of the Kingdom of *England*
 " were grown so great, that all future passages, by
 " which comfort and life should be conveyed to
 " that gasping Kingdom, seemed totally to be ob-
 " structed; so that, unless his Majesty, out of his
 " singular Wisdom, and fatherly Care, applied
 " some speedy remedy, his loyal, and distressed
 " Subjects of that Kingdom must inevitably perish.
 " They acknowledged, his Princely favor and
 " goodness since this Rebellion, so abundantly ex-
 " pressed in a deep sense, and lively resentment of
 " their bleeding condition: And therefore, they
 " besought him, among his other weighty Cares,

“ so to reflect upon the bleeding condition of that B O O K
 “ perishing Kingdom, that timely relief might be VI.
 “ afforded Otherwise his Loyal Subjects there
 “ must yield their Fortunes, as a Prey; their Lives,
 “ a Sacrifice; and their Religion a Scorn to the mer-
 “ ciless Rebels, powerfully assisted from abroad.”

And indeed the condition of the Protestants, in that Kingdom, was very miserable: for, whilst the distractions of *England* kept them from receiving Succours from thence, the Rebels had Arms, Ammunition, Money, and Commanders, from *Rome*, *Spain*, and *France*; the Pope having sent a formal avowed Nuntio, to whose jurisdiction the *Irish* submitted; and the Kings of *France*, and *Spain*, having sent great Supplies, and their Agents, to countenance and foment the Rebellion; who gave notable Countenance to the Assembly and formed Council for the Rebels, settled at *Kilkenny*.

The King, who well knew this Petition was sent by the permission of those at *Westminster*, and that the Agents employed were Men of notorious disaffection to him, who looked for some such Answer as might improve the envy of the People, used the Messengers with all possible grace, and returned them as gracious an Answer: “ That, from the beginning of
 “ that monstrous Rebellion, he had Had no greater
 “ sorrow, than for the bleeding condition of that
 “ his Kingdom. That he had, by all means, labored,
 “ that timely relief might be afforded to it, and con-
 “ sented to all Propositions, how disadvantageous
 “ soever to Himself, that had been offered to him
 “ to that purpose; and, not only at first recom-

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“ mended their condition to both his Houses of Par-
 “ liament, and immediately, of his own mere mo-
 “ tion, sent over several Commissions, and caused
 “ some proportion of Arms, and Ammunition
 “ (which the Petitioners well knew to have been a
 “ great support to the Northern parts of that King-
 “ dom) to be conveyed to them out of *Scotland*, and
 “ offered ten thousand Volunteers to undertake that
 “ War; but had often pressed, by many several Mes-
 “ sages, that sufficient Succours might be hastened
 “ thither, and other matters of smaller importance
 “ laid by, which did divert it; and offered, and
 “ most really intended, in his own Royal Person, to
 “ have undergone the danger of that War, for the
 “ defence of his good Subjects, and the chastisement
 “ of those perfidious, and barbarous Rebels; and
 “ in his several expressions of his desires of Treaty
 “ and Peace, he had declared, the miserable present
 “ condition and certain future loss of *Ireland*, to be
 “ one of the principal Motives most earnestly to de-
 “ sire, that the present distractions of This Kingdom
 “ might be composed, and that others would concur
 “ with him to the same end.

He told them, “ he was well pleased, that his
 “ Offers, Concurrence, Actions, and Expressions,
 “ were so rightly understood by the Petitioners, and
 “ those who had employed them (notwithstanding
 “ the groundless, and horrid aspersions which had
 “ been cast upon him) but he wished, that, instead
 “ of a mere general complaint, to which his Majesty
 “ could make no return but of Compassion, they
 “ could have digested, and offered to him any such

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“ desires, by consenting to which, he might convey,
 “ at least in some degree, comfort and life to that
 “ gasping Kingdom; preserve his distressed, and
 “ loyal Subjects of the same from inevitably perishing,
 “ and the true Protestant Religion from being
 “ scorned, and trampled on, by those merciless
 “ Rebels. And, if the Petitioners could yet think
 “ of any Such, and propose them to his Majesty, he
 “ assured them, that by his readiness to consent and
 “ his thanks to them for the proposal, he would
 “ make it appear to them, that their most pressing,
 “ Personal Sufferings, could not make Them more
 “ desirous of relief, than His care of the true Religion,
 “ and of his faithful Subjects, and of his Duty,
 “ which obliged him, to his power, to protect both,
 “ rendered Him desirous to afford it to them.

The King being fully informed now, as well by
 this Committee, as from his Ministers of State in that
 Kingdom, of the growing power of the Rebels in
Ireland, and of the weak Resistance his good Subjects
 were like to make, whose only hopes depended
 upon those Succours which they presumed the Lord
 Lieutenant would bring over with him, and that
 he was now going thither, without the least addition
 of strength, or probable assurance that any would be
 sent after him; his Majesty considered likewise, that,
 besides the damp this naked arrival of the Lord Lieutenant
 There must cast upon the minds of all, it
 would make likewise a great alteration in the conduct
 of Affairs there. For upon His landing, the
 Commission to the Earl of *Ormond*, of Lieutenant-
 General of the Army, would be determined; and

BOOK VI. there had those jealousies, and disrespect, passed between the Earl of *Leicester* and Him, that the Earl of *Ormond* was resolved, no more to continue that Command, but immediately to transport himself out of that Kingdom; by which the King should lose the service of a Person much the most powerful, most able, and most popular within that Kingdom; and who had, with wonderful Courage and Conduct, and almost miraculous success, hitherto restrained the rage and fury of the Rebels, and indeed a Man so accomplished, that he had either No Enemies, or Such who were ashamed to profess they were so.

Upon these considerations, the King thought fit, for some time, till he might farther weigh the whole business, to suspend the Earl of *Leicester's* Journey: and therefore sent to him to *Chester* (where he had lain, in some indisposition of health, above a fortnight; and the Ships being not yet come for his Transportation) "to attend his Majesty at *Oxford*;" which he did shortly after *Christmas*, and continued there; the King directing the Earl of *Ormond* (whom about this time he made a Marquis) "to carry on the War" as he had done; and during the absence of the "Lord-Lieutenant, to dispose of all Places, and "Offices in the Army which became void." His Majesty likewise at this time made an alteration in the Civil Power; for whereas Sir *William Parsons*, and Sir *John Burlacy*, had continued Lords Justices from, and before the death of the Earl of *Strafford*, the King finding that Sir *William Parsons* (who was a Man of long experience in that Kingdom, and confessed abilities, but always of suspected reputation) did him

all imaginable differvice, and combined with the Parliament in *England* removed him from that Trust; and, in his room, deputed Sir *Harry Tichborne*, a Man of so excellent a fame, that though the Parliament was heartily angry at the remove of the Other, and knew This would never be brought to serve Their turn, they could not fasten any reproach upon the King for this alteration.

Another circumstance must not be forgotten. After the War broke out in *England*, the Parliament had sent over two of their Members of the Commons (Mr. *Raynolds*, and Mr. *Goodwyn*) as a Committee into *Ireland*, to reside at *Dublin*, and had given directions to the Lords Justices, "that they should have leave to be present at their consultations;" which they had; and were no other than Spies upon those, who should presume to deliver any opinions there not agreeable to the sense of the Houses. When the King made that alteration in the Government, he likewise took notice, that strangers were admitted to be present at their debates, which had never been before practised; and therefore required them, "that it might be so no more." Hereupon the Committee, who had carried themselves very insolently, and seditiously there, and with notable contempt of the King, and His Authority, were, by the Lords Justices, and Council, inhibited from being present at the Council; and thereupon they quickly left the Kingdom, and returned to *London*; the Parliament unreasonably accusing the King of a new breach of Privilege, for this disrespect to their Members. This was the State of *Ireland*, the War being that Spring

B O O K prosperously carried on by the Marquis of *Ormond*,
VI. and the Earl of *Leicester* still staying at *Oxford* with the Title of Lord Lieutenant. And so We will return to *Oxford*. and *London*.

Many days being past since the return of the Committee of Lords and Commons from *Oxford* with the King's Answer to their Propositions, and no Reply being made by the Houses, or indeed any solemn Debate entered thereupon (for his Majesty had every day Information of what passed among them, even in their most secret Councils) and, on the contrary, preparations more vigorously intended for the War, than had been before in sending out strong Parties to infest the King's Quarters (for besides the incursions, and progress of Sir *William Waller*, which are before remembered, Mr. *Hambden* had made some Attempts upon the *Brill*, a Garrison of the King's upon the Edge of *Buckinghamshire*, but without effect, and with some considerable loss) in Levying great Numbers of Men for the recruiting the Earl of *Essex's* Army; and designing new extraordinary ways for the raising of Money and associating several Counties of the Kingdom, towards the raising new Armies: the King, as well to have the conveniency of sending to *London* (of which Journies he made good use) as to quicken, and necessitate them to some reply, sent another Message to them putting them in mind of "the Proposition he had made for a Cessation, of Arms," and desired, "if they approved of a Cessation, that the day upon which they thought fit it should begin, and such particulars, limits, and condi-

The King puts the two Houses in mind of his Proposition for a Cessation of Arms.

“ tions of it, as were necessary to be understood,
“ and agreed on, before the Cessation itself could
“ actually begin, might be proposed by Them.”
Since, his Majesty said, “ he supposed, by the pre-
“ sent great preparations of several Forces to march
“ several ways, that till all that should be agreed upon,
“ They did not conceive themselves obliged to an
“ actual Cessation; so neither, till Then, did his
“ Majesty conceive Himself obliged to it; however,
“ he wished it might be clearly understood between
“ them, that no such imputations as had been for-
“ merly, might be laid upon Him, upon occasion
“ of any thing that might intervene.

This Message put a necessity upon them, of entering again upon the Argument, and gave them who desired Peace and Accommodation, an opportunity to press for the Debate, which had been craftily laid aside for the despatch of other matters; that Party, which was most deeply engaged in the War, and resolved to carry it on, having a notable dexterity in keeping those things from being Debated, in which they found, Their sense would not prevail. And at this time, the Number of those in both Houses, who really desired the same Peace the King did, was (if they had not been overwitted by them) superior to the other. For, besides that many Persons, who from the beginning had always dissented from them, for their ease and conveniency had stayed among them, very many were convinced in their understandings, that they had been misled; and discerned, in what a bottomless Gulph of misery the Kingdom would be plunged, if an immediate Compofure were

B O O K not made; and some of those who had been as fierce
VI. as any, and given as great countenance to the kindling the Fire, either out of Conscience that they had done amiss, or fear that the King would prevail by Power, or Anger that they found other Men valued above them; in their present Distraction, or their natural Inconstancy even in ill, were most solicitous for a Treaty. So that within few days after the receipt of this Message, both Houses agreed, "that

Both Houses agree there should be a Treaty; and they send for a safe conduct.

" there should be a Treaty, in which so much of
 " the King's Propositions as concerned the Magazines, Forts, and Ships, and the Proposition of
 " both Houses for the disbanding the Armies, should be first treated on, and concluded, before the
 " proceeding to treat upon any of the other Propositions; and that the Treaty should begin the fourth
 " of *March*, or sooner if it might be; and that,
 " from the beginning, the time should not exceed
 " twenty days."

The King grants it to all they name but the Lord Say.

The Persons they made choice of to Treat, were the Earl *Northumberland*, the Lord *Say*, Mr. *Pierrepont*, Sir *William Armin*, Sir *John Holland*, and Mr. *Whitlock*, for whose Safe Conduct they dispatched a Messenger to his Majesty; this resolution being taken but the last day of *February*. As soon as the request was presented, the King returned a Safe-Conduct for the Earl of *Northumberland*, and the four Commoners, but refused to admit the Lord *Say* to his presence. upon the same exception he had formerly refused Sir *John Evelyn* at *Colebrook*; his Lordship being Personally excepted from Pardon by a former Proclamation; but signified, "that if they
 " would

“ would employ any other Person not within the
 “ same Rule, he should as freely come as if he were
 “ in the Safe-Conduct.”

Whether the Lord *Say* was nominated by those who believed they should be able, upon the refusal of Him (which they could not but foresee) to break off all Overtures of farther Treaty ; or whether they believed, they had so far prevailed by underhand Negotiations at *Oxford*, that he should be admitted, and that he would have been able to persuade the King to yield to what they proposed, or at least to have engaged the King to those who would have yielded to him, I know not ; but as it was not so insisted on at *Westminster* as to break the Treaty, so many were of opinion at *Oxford*, that the King should have admitted him. They said, “ he was a
 “ wise Man, and could not but know, that it would
 “ not be possible for him to make any impression
 “ upon his Majesty’s Judgment in the Propositions
 “ in Debate ; and therefore, that he would never
 “ have suffered himself to be designed to that Ne-
 “ gotiation (which, without doubt, by his Interest
 “ in both Houses he might have prevented) if he
 “ did not purpose to do some signal service to his
 “ Majesty.” And indeed many believed, “ that if
 “ he had come, and found the King’s goodness in-
 “ clined to pardon, and trust him, that he would
 “ have done the best he could, to redeem his for-
 “ mer breaches.” Others were of opinion, “ that
 “ he was so far from being inclined to serve the
 “ King, or advance the Treaty, that they would
 “ have sent him as a Spy, lest others should ;” and

B O O K these were the thoughts both at *Oxford* and *London*.

VI. But the King, who knew the Lord *Say* as well as any of them, believed, that it was not in his Power to do any good, and if it had, that it was not in his Will; was resolved not to break his Rule, lest such a remission might give advantage against him in the future: and so sent the Answer above remembered. Together with this desire of a Safe-Conduct, they sent his Majesty word, "that they had likewise consented, that there should be a Cessation of Arms on either side, under the Restrictions, and Limitations, hereafter following."

The two
Houses send
their Terms
for a Cessation.

1. "That all manner of Arms, Ammunition, Victuals, Money, Bullion, and all other Commodities, passing without such a Safe-Conduct as may Warrant their passage, may be stayed and seized on, as if no Cessation was agreed on.

2. "That all manner of Persons, passing without such a Safe-Conduct as is mentioned in the Article next going before, shall be apprehended, and detained, as if no such Cessation were agreed on at all.

3. "That his Majesty's Forces in *Oxfordshire* should advance no nearer to *Windfor* than *Wheatly*, and in *Buckinghamshire* no nearer to *Aylesbury* than *Brill*; and that, in *Berkshire*, the Forces respectively shall not advance nearer the one to the other, than Now they are: And that the Parliament-Forces in *Oxfordshire* shall advance no nearer to *Oxford* than *Henly*, and those in *Buckinghamshire* no nearer to *Oxford* than *Aylesbury*: And that his Majesty's Forces shall take no new

“ Quarters, above twelve miles from *Oxford*, any
 “ way; and the Parliament-Forces shall take no
 “ new Quarters, above twelve miles from *Windfor*,
 “ any way.

4. “ That no Siege shall be begun, or continued
 “ against *Glocester*; and that his Majesty’s Forces,
 “ now employed in the Siege, shall return to *Ciren-*
 “ *cester* and *Malmsbury*, or to *Oxford*, as shall be
 “ most for their convenience; and the Parliament-
 “ Forces, which are in *Glocestershire*, shall remain
 “ in the Cities of *Glocester*, *Bristol*, and the Castle,
 “ and Town of *Berkely*, or retire nearer to *Windfor*,
 “ as they shall see cause: And that those of *Wales*,
 “ which are drawn to *Glocester*, shall return to their
 “ Quarters where they were before they drew down
 “ to *Glocestershire*.

5. “ That, in case it be pretended on either side,
 “ that the Cessation is violated, no Act of Hostility
 “ is immediately to follow, but first the party com-
 “ plaining is to acquaint the Lord General on the
 “ other side, and to allow three days, after notice,
 “ for satisfaction; and in case satisfaction be not
 “ given, or accepted, then five days notice to be
 “ given, before Hostility begin, and the like to be
 “ observed in the remoter Armies, by the Com-
 “ manders in chief.

6. “ Lastly, that all other Forces, in the King-
 “ dom of *England*, and Dominion of *Wales*, not be-
 “ fore mentioned, shall remain in the same Quarters,
 “ and Places, as they are at the time of publishing
 “ this Cessation, and under the same conditions as
 “ are mentioned in the Articles before. And that

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“ this Cessation shall not extend, to restrain the setting forth, or employing of any Ships, for the Defence of his Majesty’s Dominions.”

All which they desired “ his Majesty would be pleased to ratify, and confirm: and that this Cessation might begin upon the fourth of *March* next, or sooner if it might be; and continue until the five-and-twentieth of the same Month; and in the mean time to be published on either side; and that the Treaty might likewise commence upon the same day; and the continuance thereof not to exceed twenty days.

These Propositions were delivered to his Majesty on the first of *March*, which was almost a Month after the Cessation had been proposed by him (for His Propositions were made on the third of *February*) which administered cause of doubt, that the Overture was not sincere; since it was hardly possible, that the Cessation could begin so soon as the fourth, by which time, though the King should consent to the terms proposed, upon sight, his Answer could very hardy be returned to them. But the Articles themselves were such as occasioned much debate, and difference of opinion, among those who desired the same thing. The King, after the examination of them with his Privy-Council, and at a Council of War, made a Committee out of each, to consider the inconvenience, his consent to them might produce to His Party, if that Cessation, and Treaty, did not Produce a Peace; and the inequality in them, if the Overture passed from an equal Enemy according to the Rules of War. Some were of

opinion, " that the Cessation should be consented
" to by the King, upon the Articles proposed, B O O K
" though they should be thought unequal, VI.
" because it would be an Act of great grace, and
" compassion to the People, to give them some respite,
" and taste of Peace, and the not consenting to it
" (the reason not being so easy to be understood)
" would be as unpopular, and ungracious; but
" that, they believed, it would at least cast the
" People into such a slumber, that much of their
" fury and madness would be abated; and that they
" would not be easily induced to part with the ease
" they felt, and would look upon That Party as
" an Enemy, that robbed them of it; that it would
" give an opportunity of charitable Intercourse, and
" revive that freedom of Conversation, which, of
" itself, upon so great advantage of reason, as they
" believed the King's cause gave, would rectify the
" understanding of many who were misled; but
" especially, that it would not only hinder the recruit
" of the Earl of *Essex's* Army (for that no Man
" would be so mad to declare themselves against the
" King, when they saw a Cessation, in order to
" restoring the King to his Rights (but would lessen
" the Forces he had already; in that the Army
" consisted most of Men engaged by the Pay, not
" Affection to the Cause; who upon such a remission
" of duty as would necessarily attend a Cessation,
" would abandon a Party, which they foresaw,
" upon a Peace, must be condemned, though it
" might be secure: And whereas all Overtures of
" a Treaty hitherto had advanced their Levies upon

o o K “ pretence of being in a posture not to be contemned,
 VI. “ they believed, a real Cessation would render those
 “ Levies impossible.”

Others thought “ any Cessation disadvantageous
 “ enough to the King; and therefore, that the terms,
 “ upon which it was to be made, were to be pre-
 “ cisely looked to: that the Articles proposed would
 “ only produce a suspension of present acts of Hos-
 “ tility, and Blood, among the Soldiers; but not
 “ give the least taste of Peace, or admit the least
 “ benefit to the People, for that all Intercourse,
 “ and Conversation was inhibited, in so much as no
 “ Person of the King’s Party, though no Soldier,
 “ had liberty to visit his Wife, or Family, out of
 “ the King’s Quarters, during this Cessation; and
 “ the hindering Recruits could only prejudice the
 “ King, not at all the Earl of *Essex*, who had at
 “ present a greater Army than ever before; and
 “ the City of *London* was such a Magazine of Men,
 “ as could supply him upon very small warning.
 “ Besides, though the State of the King’s Army
 “ and Quarters, about *Oxford*, was such as might
 “ receive some advantage by a Cessation; yet, in
 “ the West, it was hoped his Affairs were in the
 “ bud; and the Earl of *New-Castle* was so much
 “ Master in the North, that if a Peace ensued not
 “ (which Wise Men did not believe was seriously
 “ intended on the Parliament’s part, by reason the
 “ Propositions to be Treated on, were so unreason-
 “ able, and impossible to be consented to) such a
 “ Cessation would hinder the motion and progress
 “ of the Earl’s good Fortune, and give time to the

“ Lord *Fairfax*, who was at present very low, to
 “ put himself into such a posture as might give new
 “ trouble.” And it is certain the Northern Forces
 had then great dread of this Cessation.

To these Considerations was added another of greater moment, and which could be less answered by any access of benefit, and advantage on the King's Party. Hitherto the Parliament had raised their vast Sums of Money, for the support of their Army (which could only be supported by constant great Pay) and for the discharge of their other immense Expenses, incident to such a Rebellion, from the City of *London*, and principally from their Friends, not daring so rigidly to execute their Ordinances generally, but contented themselves with some severe judgments upon particular Men, whom they had branded with some extraordinary mark of Malignancy, out of *London*, save only that they gleaned among their own Zealots upon voluntary Collections, and plundered by their Army, which brought no supply to their Common-Stock: And of what they imposed upon Cities, and Towns, wherein they had Garrisons (in which they had been likewise very tender) they had received very little; not venturing yet, by any general Tax, and Imposition upon the People, to inflame them, and inform them how they meant to invade their Liberty, and their Property, with the jealousy whereof, they had blown them up to all those swellings, and seditious Humors against the King; and apprehending, that if they should attempt That, any encouragement of strength from any of the King's Armies,

BOOK VI. would make the whole Kingdom rise against them.

But now, after they had agreed to a Treaty, and framed even Articles for a Cessation; they passed an Ordinance for a Weekly Assessment throughout the Kingdom, towards the support of the War; by which, was imposed upon the City of *London* the Weekly Sum of ten thousand pounds, and upon the whole Kingdom no less than a Weekly Payment of thirty-three thousand five hundred and eighteen pounds, amounting in the year to one Million seven hundred forty-two thousand nine hundred thirty-six Pounds; a prodigious Sum for a People to bear, who, before this War, thought the payment of two Subsidies in a year, which, in the best times, never amounted to above two hundred thousand pounds, and never in our Age to above a hundred and fifty, an insupportable burden upon the Kingdom: Which indeed had scarce borne the same, under all the Kings that ever Reigned.

For the speedy and exact Collection whereof, they appointed, by the same Ordinance, Commissioners in each County, such as were sufficiently inclined to, and engaged in Their designs. To this they added other Ordinances, for exacting the twentieth part, and other payments, throughout the Kingdom; which had been only undergone (and that not generally) in *London*; and, above all, for the sequestering, and seizing of the Estates of all who adhered to the King. “ Now if a Cessation were “ consented to by the King, on the Articles pro- “ posed, and thereby the King’s Forces locked up

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“ within the several limits and narrow bounds, in
 “ which they were contained, these Ordinances
 “ might be executed throughout all their Quarters;
 “ and thereby vast Sums be raised. Their great As-
 “ sociation of *Norfolk*, *Suffolk*, *Cambridge*, *Hun-*
 “ *tington*, *Bedford*, and *Essex* (in neither of which
 “ the King had any visible Party, or one fixed
 “ Quarter) upon which, the apprehension of the
 “ Earl of *New-Castle*’s advance upon them, kept
 “ them from notable pressures, would by this means
 “ yield them a great supply of Men, and Money.
 “ In *Somersetshire*, and *Devonshire*, whilst Sir *Ralph*
 “ *Hopton* might hereby be kept from advancing,
 “ They might raise what they would, and might
 “ dispose of the Stocks, and personal Estates of those,
 “ whom they had, and would declare to be Malig-
 “ nant; and so this Cessation, besides the damage,
 “ and prejudice to the Loyal Party, would probably
 “ fill the Rebels Coffers, the emptiness whereof was
 “ the most, if not only, probable way and means,
 “ to determine the War.”

These considerations made a deep impression upon
 those, who believed the Treaty was not like to pro-
 duce a Peace; the Number of which was increased
 by a new Resolution, at this time entered upon,
 and vigorously prosecuted, “ to fortify the City of
 “ *London*, and to draw a line about it; which was
 “ executed with marvellous expedition;” which,
 many believed, would not have been then done,
 both for the charge and jealousy of it, if it had not
 been resolved it should not Yet return to the King’s
 Obedience. And many Persons of Honor, and Qua-

The City of
London for-
tified.

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The King's
proposals of
Alterations
in the two
Houses Ar-
ticles of Ces-
sation.

lity, about the King, who had given great life to his Affairs, were so startled with the sense of it, that they addressed themselves together to his Majesty, and besought, him, "that they might not lose That
" now, by an unequal Cessation, which had been
" preserved for them, during the Licence of Host-
" tility; and that His, and Their Enemies, might
" not be That way enabled to destroy them. which
" Yet they durst not attempt to do by any Other." The King hereupon, after solemn Debates in Council, the chief Officers of his Army being present, resolved to make such Alterations in the Articles, as might make the terms a little more equal, at least prevent so intolerable disadvantages.

1. " To the first Article as it was proposed by
" them, his Majesty fully, and absolutely consented."
2. " To the second likewise fully, as far as it con-
" cerned all Officers and Soldiers of the Army; but
" He proposed, that all other his Subjects, of what
" Quality, or Condition soever, might, during the
" Cessation, pass to and from the Cities of *Oxford*,
" or *London*, or any other parts of his Majesty's
" Dominions, without any search, stay, or impris-
" onment of their Persons, or seizure, and deten-
" tion of their Goods or Estates: And that all
" manner of Trade, and Commerce, might be open
" and free between all his Subjects, except between
" the Officers, and Soldiers of either Army, or for
" Arms, Ammunition, Money, Bullion, or Vic-
" tuals for the use of either Army, without a Pass,
" or Safe-Conduct;" which, his Majesty told them,
" would be a good beginning to renew the Trade,

“ and Correspondence of the Kingdom, and where-
 “ by his Subjects might be restored to that Liberty
 “ and Freedom they were born to, and had so hap-
 “ pily enjoyed till these miserable distractions; and
 “ which, even during this War, his Majesty had,
 “ to his utmost, labored to preserve, opening the
 “ way, by most strict Proclamations, to the passage
 “ of all Commodities, even to the City of *London*
 “ itself.”

3, 4, 5, 6. To these the King likewise consented,
 with two provisions: First, “ that such Ships as
 “ were necessary to be set forth, should be Com-
 “ manded by such Persons as his Majesty should
 “ approve of. Secondly, that during the Cessation,
 “ none of his Subjects should be imprisoned other-
 “ wise than according to the known Laws of the
 “ Land, and that there should be no plundering,
 “ or violence offered to any of his Subjects. The
 “ first of these was inserted (without purpose of
 “ insisting on it) left by the King’s consent to the
 “ Article, in the Terms it was proposed, he might
 “ be thought to consent in any degree to their usur-
 “ pation of the Naval Authority. And the second
 “ was, to prevent the execution of the Ordinances
 “ before mentioned.”

And his Majesty told them, “ he hoped, these
 “ small Alterations would sufficiently manifest, how
 “ solicitous he was for the good of his People, for
 “ whose Liberties he should insist, when in matters
 “ merely concerning Himself, he might descend to
 “ easier Conditions; and how desirous he was, that,
 “ in this unnatural Contention, no more blood of

B O O K VI. “ his Subjects might be spilt, upon which he looked
 “ with much Grief, Compassion, and Tenderneſs
 “ of Heart, even on the blood of thoſe, who had
 “ liſted up their hands againſt him. And therefore
 “ he doubted not, but both Houſes would conſent
 “ to them. However, if any ſcruples ſhould be made,
 “ he was willing that the Commiſſioners for the
 “ Treaty might nevertheless immediately come to
 “ him, and ſo all matters concerning the Ceſſation
 “ might be there ſettled between them.”

After this Answer returned by the King, many days paſſed without any return to Him; and in the mean time another Addreſs was made to his Majeſty, upon which the great Managers at *London* had ſet their hearts, more than upon the Treaty; and for which indeed they deferred their Treaty. They had ſtill a great dependance and confidence upon their Brethren of *Scotland*, and yet that People moved very ſlowly; and, ſince the Earl of *Effex* had been ſettled in his Winter-Quarters, there had been high Quarrels between the *Engliſh*, and *Scotch* Officers, inſomuch as, upon ſome reproachful words which had been caſt out, many Swords were one day drawn in *Weſtminſter-Hall*, when the Houſes were ſitting, between them; and ſome blood drawn, which (though the Houſes induſtriouſly labored to compoſe it with Declarations “ of their joint value and
 “ reſpect of that Nation with their own, and that
 “ their deſerts could only diſtinguiſh them”) gave ſo great umbrage, that many of the *Scots*, ſome of eminent Command, quitted the Service; and it was hoped it would have broke any farther National Combination in Miſchief.

But the general inclination to Rebellion mastered those particular considerations, and disobligations; and, about the end of *February*, to facilitate the King's consent to the Grand Proposition for the extirpation of Episcopacy (which the two Houses had been, by the Arts before mentioned, wrought to make; when in truth, there were very few of themselves desired it; as, when it passed the House of Peers, there were but five Lords present) there arrived at *Oxford* the Earl of *Lowden*, Lord Chancellor of *Scotland*, and Mr. *Alexander Henderson*, a Man of equal Fame in the distractions that arose in that Kingdom: the former came as a Commissioner from the Lords of the Secret-Council of that Kingdom, or, as they then thought fit to call themselves, "the Conservators of the Peace between the two Kingdoms;" and desired to pass as a Mediator in the differences between the King and the two Houses, and that the King would give them leave upon the matter to be Umpires between them. The other, Mr. *Henderson*, had a special employment from the Assembly of the Kirk of *Scotland*, to present a Petition from that Body to the King; the which, because it was then thought of a very strange nature, and dialect, and because I shall always report the Acts of that Nation (as far as I am obliged to mention them) in their own words, I think very convenient to insert in this place.

But it will be first necessary, for the better understanding one angry clause in it, to remember, that, when the Earl of *New-Castle* marched into *Yorkshire*, upon occasion of some Aspersions published against

B O O K VI. him by the Lord *Fairfax*, "that his Army consisted
 " only of Papists, and that his design was to extir-
 " pate the Protestant Religion," the Earl set forth a
 Declaration of the reasons of his marching into that
 County, which was, "upon the desire of the prin-
 " cipal Gentlemen, to rescue, and protect them
 " from the Tyranny of the Parliament;" and then,
 taking notice of "the scandalous imputations upon
 " him in point of Religion," after he had vindicated
 himself from the least suspicion of Inclination to
 Popery, he confessed "he had granted Commissions
 " to many Papists, which, as He knew, was, in this
 " case, agreeable to the Laws of the Kingdom, so
 " he believed it very agreeable to the present Policy;
 " and that, the quarrel between the King and the
 " two Houses, being not grounded upon any matter
 " of Religion, the Rebels professing themselves to
 " be of the same of which his Majesty was clearly
 " known to be, and the Papists generally at this
 " time appearing very Loyal to him. which too
 " many Protestants were not, he thought Their As-
 " sistance might very fitly be made use of to suppress
 " the Rebellion of the other." And from thence
 these Zealous *Scots* concluded, that he preferred the
 Papists, in point of Loyalty, before the Protestants;
 which was a calumny of so public a concernment,
 that they could not be silent in. Their Petition follows
 in these words.

To the King's most Excellent Majesty;
*The humble Petition of the Commissioners of the Ge-
 neral Assembly of the Kirk of Scotland met at Edin-
 borough Jan. 4. 1643.*

The Petition

" Our Silence, and ceasing to present before your

“ Majesty our humble thoughts and desires, at this
 “ time of Common danger to Religion, to your Ma-
 “ jesty’s sacred Person, your Crown, and Posterity,
 “ and to all your Majesty’s Dominions, were im-
 “ piety against God, unthankfulness, and disloyalty
 “ against your Majesty, and indirect approbation,
 “ and hardening of the adversaries of Truth
 “ and Peace in their wicked ways, and cruelty
 “ against Our Brethren, lying in such depths of
 “ Affliction, and Anguish of Spirit; any one of
 “ which crimes were, in Us above all others, unex-
 “ cusable, and would prove Us most unworthy of
 “ the trust committed unto Us. The flame of this
 “ Common Combustion hath almost devoured *Ire-*
 “ *land*, is now wasting the Kingdom of *England*,
 “ and We cannot tell how soon it shall enter upon
 “ Ourselves, and set this your Majesty’s most An-
 “ cient, and Native Kingdom on fire. If in this woful
 “ case, and lamentable condition of your Majesty’s
 “ Dominions, all others should be silent, it behoveth
 “ Us to speak; and if Our Tongues and Pens should
 “ cease, our Consciences within us would cry out,
 “ and the stones in the Streets would Answer Us.
 “ Our great grief, and apprehension of danger, is
 “ not a little increased, partly by the insolence, and
 “ presumption of Papists, and others disaffected to
 “ the Reformation of Religion, who, although for
 “ their Number, and Power, they be not consider-
 “ able among Us. yet, through the success of the
 “ Popish Party in *Ireland*, and the hopes they con-
 “ ceive of the prevailing power of the Popish Armies,
 “ and the Prelatical faction in *England*, they have of

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 VI
 of the General
 Assembly of
 the Kirk of
 Scotland
 presented to
 the King by
 Mr. Hender-
 son, signed
 Jan. 4.
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“ late taken spirit, and begun to speak big words
 “ against the Reformation of Religion, and the work
 “ of God in this Land; and partly, and more princi-
 “ pally, that a chief praise of the Protestant Reli-
 “ gion (and thereby our not vain, but just gloriation)
 “ is, by the public Declaration of the Earl of *New-*
 “ *Castle*, General of your Majesty’s Forces for the
 “ Northern parts, and nearest unto us, transferred
 “ unto Papists; who, although they be sworn Ene-
 “ mies unto Kings, and be as infamous for their
 “ Treasons, and Conspiracies against Princes and
 “ Rulers, as for their known Idolatry, and spiritual
 “ Tyranny, yet are they openly declared to be not
 “ only good Subjects, or better Subjects, but Far
 “ better Subjects than Protestants: which is a new,
 “ and foul disparagement of the Reformed Religion,
 “ a notable Injury to your Majesty in your Honor,
 “ a sensible Reflection upon the whole Body of this
 “ Kingdom, which is impatient, that any Subjects
 “ should be more Loyal than They; but abhorreth,
 “ and extremely disdaineth, that Papists, who refuse
 “ to take the Oath of Allegiance, should be compared
 “ with them in Allegiance, and Fidelity; and which
 “ (being a strange Doctrine from the Mouth, or Pen
 “ of professed Protestants) will suffer a hard construc-
 “ tion from all the Reformed Kirks.

“ We therefore, your Majesty’s most humble and
 “ loving Subjects, upon these and the like consider-
 “ ations, do humbly entreat, that your Majesty
 “ may be pleased in your princely Wisdom, first to
 “ consider, that the Intentions of Papists, directed
 “ by the Principles of their profession, are no other
 than

“ than they have been from the beginning, even to
 “ build their Babel, and to set up their execrable
 “ Idolatry, and Anti Christian Tyranny, in all your
 “ Majesty’s Dominions; to change the face of your
 “ two Kingdoms of *Scotland*, and *England*, into the
 “ similitude of miserable *Ireland*; which is more
 “ bitter to the People of God, your Majesty’s good
 “ Subjects, to think upon, than death; and what-
 “ soever their present pretences be, for the Defence
 “ of your Majesty’s Person and Authority, yet, in
 “ the end, by their Arms, and Power, with a dis-
 “ played Banner, to bring That to pass against your
 “ Royal Person, and Posterity, which the fifth of
 “ *November*, never to be forgotten, was not able
 “ by their subtle and undermining Treason to pro-
 “ duce; or, which will be their greatest Mercy, to
 “ reduce your Majesty, and your Kingdoms, to the
 “ base and unnatural Slavery of their Monarch, the
 “ Pope: And next, that your Majesty, upon this
 “ undeniable evidence, may timouly and speedily
 “ apply your Royal Authority, for disbanding their
 “ Forces, suppressing their Power, and disappoint-
 “ ing their bloody and merciless Projects.

“ And for this end, We are, with greater Ear-
 “ nestness than before, constrained to fall down
 “ again before your Majesty, and, in all humility,
 “ to renew the supplication of the late general As-
 “ sembly, and Our own former Petition in Their
 “ name, for Unity of Religion, and Uniformity of
 “ Church Government in all your Majesty’s King-
 “ doms, and, to this effect, for a meeting of some
 “ Divines to be holden in *England*, unto which,

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“ according to the desire of your Majesty’s Parlia-
 “ ment, some Commissioners may be sent from this
 “ Kirk; that, in all points to be proposed, and de-
 “ bated, there may be the greater Consent, and
 “ Harmony. We take the boldness to be the more
 “ instant in this our humble desire, because it con-
 “ cerneth the Lord Jesus Christ so much in His Glory,
 “ your Majesty in your Honor, the Kirk of *England*
 “ (which We ought to tender as our own Bowels,
 “ and whose Reformation is more dear unto Us than
 “ Our lives) in Her happiness, and the Kirk of *Scot-*
 “ *land* in her purity, and peace; former experience,
 “ and daily sense teaching Us, that, without the
 “ Reformation of the Kirk of *England*, there is no
 “ hope or possibility of the continuance of Reforma-
 “ tion Here.

“ The Lord of Heaven and Earth, whose Vice-
 “ Gerent your Majesty is, calleth for this great work
 “ of Reformation at your hand; and the present
 “ Commotions, and Troubles of your Majesty’s
 “ Dominions, are either a preparation, in the mercy
 “ of God, for this blessed Reformation and Unity
 “ of Religion (which is the desire, prayers, and ex-
 “ pectation of all your Majesty’s good Subjects in
 “ this Kingdom) or, which they tremble to think
 “ upon, and earnestly deprecate, are (in the justice
 “ of God, for the abuse of the Gospel, the tolerating
 “ of Idolatry, and Superstition, against so clear a
 “ light, and not acknowledging the day of Visita-
 “ tion) the beginning of such a doleful desolation,
 “ as no policy or power of Man shall be able to pre-
 “ vent, and as shall make your Majesty’s Kingdoms,

“ within a short time, as miserable, as they may be
 “ happy by a Reformation of Religion. God forbid
 “ that, whilst the Houses of Parliament do profess
 “ their desire of the Reformation of Religion in a
 “ Peaceable, and Parliamentary way, and pass their
 “ Bills for that end in the particulars; that your
 “ Majesty, the Nurse-Father of the Kirk of Christ,
 “ to whose care the custody and vindication of Re-
 “ ligion doth principally belong. should, to the pro-
 “ voking of the Anger of God, the stopping of the
 “ influence of so many blessings from Heaven, and
 “ the grieving of the hearts of all the Godly, frus-
 “ trate our expectation, make our hopes ashamed,
 “ and hazard the loss of the hearts of all your good
 “ Subjects; which, next unto the truth, and unity
 “ of Religion, and the safety of your Kingdoms,
 “ are willing to hazard their Lives, and spend their
 “ Blood, for your Majesty’s Honor, and Happiness.

“ We are not ignorant, that the work is great, the
 “ difficulties and impediments many; and that there
 “ be both Mountains, and Lions in the way; the
 “ strongest let, till it be taken out of the way, is the
 “ Mountain of Prelacy: And no wonder, if your
 “ Majesty consider, how many Papists, and Po-
 “ pishly-affected, have, for a long time, found peace,
 “ and ease under the shadow thereof, how many of
 “ the Prelatical Faction have thereby their life and
 “ being; how many prophane, and worldly Men,
 “ do fear the Yoke of Christ, and are unwilling to
 “ submit themselves to the obedience of the Gospel;
 “ how many there be, whose Eyes are dazzled with
 “ the external Glory and Pomp of the Kirk; whose

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“ minds are miscarried with a conceit of the Govern-
 “ ing of the Kirk by the Rules of human Policy; and
 “ whose hearts are affrighted with the apprehensions
 “ of the dangerous consequences, which may ensue
 “ upon alterations. But when your Majesty, in your
 “ Princely and Religious Wisdom, shall remember,
 “ from the Records of former times, how against
 “ the Gates of Hell, the force and fraud of wicked
 “ and worldly Men, and all panic fears of danger,
 “ the Christian Religion was first planted; and the
 “ Christian Kirk thereafter reformed: And from the
 “ condition of the present times, how many, from
 “ the experience of the Tyranny of the Prelates, are
 “ afraid to discover themselves, lest They be re-
 “ venged upon them hereafter (whereas Prelacy
 “ being removed they would openly profess what
 “ they are, and join with others in the way of Re-
 “ formation) all obstacles, and difficulties shall be
 “ but matter of the manifestation of the power of
 “ God, the Principal worker; and means of the
 “ greater Glory to your Majesty, the prime Instru-
 “ ment.”

“ The Intermixture of the Government of Prelates
 “ with the Civil State, mentioned in your Majesty’s
 “ Answer to Our former Petition, being taken
 “ away and the right Government by Assemblies,
 “ which is to be seen in all the Reformed Kirks,
 “ and wherein the Agreement will be easy, being
 “ settled; the Kirk, and Religion, will be more
 “ pure, and free from mixture, and the Civil Govern-
 “ ment more sound and firm. That Government
 “ of the Kirk must suit best with the Civil State,

“ and be most useful for Kings and Kingdoms, B O O
 “ which is best warranted by God, by whom Kings VI
 “ do Reign, and Kingdoms are established. Nor
 “ can a Reformation be expected in the common and
 “ ordinary way, expressed also in your Majesty’s
 “ Answer. The Wisest and most Religious Princes
 “ have found it impossible, and implying a Repug-
 “ nancy, since the Persons to be Reformed, and
 “ Reformers, must be diverse; and the way of
 “ Reformation must be different from the corrupt
 “ way, by which defection of Workmen, and cor-
 “ ruption in Doctrine, Worship, and Government,
 “ have entered into the Kirk. Suffer Us therefore,
 “ Dread Sovereign, to renew our Petitions for this
 “ Unity of Religion, and Uniformity of Kirk-Gov-
 “ ernment, and for a meeting of some Divines of
 “ both Kingdoms, who may prepare matters for
 “ your Majesty’s View, and for the Examination,
 “ and Approbation of more full Assemblies. The
 “ National Assembly of this Kirk, from which We
 “ have Our Commission, did promise, in their thank-
 “ giving for the many favors expressed in your
 “ Majesty’s Letter, their best endeavour to keep
 “ the People under their Charge in Unity, and Peace,
 “ and in Loyalty, and Obedience to your Majesty,
 “ and your Laws, which, We confess, is a duty
 “ well befitting the Preachers of the Gospel.

“ But We cannot conceal how much both Pastors
 “ and People are grieved, and disquieted with the
 “ late reports of the success, boldness, and strength
 “ of Popish Forces in *Ireland*, and *England*; and
 “ how much danger, from the power of so malicious,

O O K " and bloody Enemies, is apprehended to the Re-
 VI. " ligion, and Peace of this Kirk, and Kingdom,
 " conceived by them to be the spring. whence have
 " issued all their Calamities, and Miseries. Which
 " We humbly remonstrate to your Majesty as a ne-
 " cessity requiring a General Assembly, and do
 " earnestly supplicate for the Presence, and Assist-
 " ance of your Majesty's Commissioner, and the
 " day to be appointed; that, by universal consent
 " of the whole Kirk, the best course may be taken
 " for the preservation of Religion, and for the avert-
 " ing of the great Wrath, which they conceive to
 " be imminent to this Kingdom. If it shall please the
 " Lord, in whose hand is the heart of the King, as
 " the River of waters, to turn it whithersoever he
 " will, to incline your Majesty's heart to this
 " thorough Reformation; no more to tolerate the
 " Mass, or any part of Romish Superstition, or
 " Tyranny; and to Command that all good means
 " be used for the conversion of your Princely Con-
 " sort, the Queen's Majesty (which is also the
 " humble desire of this whole Kirk and Kingdom)
 " your joint Comforts shall be multiplied above the
 " days of your Affliction, to your incredible joy;
 " your Glory shall shine in brightness, above all
 " your Royal Progenitors, to the admiration of
 " the world, and the terror of your Enemies: And
 " your Kingdoms so far abound in righteousness,
 " peace, and prosperity, above all that have been
 " in former Generations, that they shall say, *It is*
 " *good for Us, that We have been afflicted.*"

This Petition was not stranger in itself, than in

the Circumstances that attended it ; for it was no sooner presented to the King (if not before) than it was sent to *London*, and Printed, and communicated with extraordinary industry to the People ; that they might see, how far the *Scottish* Nation would be engaged for the destruction of the Church ; and the Messenger who presented it, Mr. *Henderson*, confessed to his Majesty, that he had three or four Letters to the most active and seditious Preachers about *London*, from Men of the same spirit in *Scotland*. Upon this provocation, the King might have very reasonably proceeded against Mr. *Henderson*, who was neither included in the Safe-Conduct (as the Lord *Lowden*, and the rest of the Commissioners were) nor had any Authority from the Lords of the Council of that Kingdom (who were qualified with large powers) to countenance his Employment ; being sent only from the Commissioners of the General Assembly (who were not authorized by their own constitutions, to make any such Declaration) and there being then no Assembly sitting ; which itself, with all their new Privileges, could not, with any color of Reason, or Authority, have transacted such an Instrument. However the King, who well knew the Interest, and Influence the Clergy had upon the People of that Kingdom ; and that, whilst they pretended to remove them from all secular Employment, they were the principal Instruments, and Engines, by which the whole Nation was wrought to Sedition ; Resolved, not only to use the Person of Mr. *Henderson* very graciously, and to protect him from those Affronts, which he

O O K might naturally expect in a University (especially,
 VI. He having used some grave and learned Doctors
 with great insolence, who went civilly to him to
 be informed, what Arguments had prevailed with
 him, to be so professed an Enemy to the Church of
England, and to give him some information in the
 Argument; with whom he superciliously refused to
 hold any discourse) but to return an Answer with
 all possible Candor to the Petition itself; and so,
 before he entered upon the other Address, made by
 the Lord *Lowden*, and the rest, he returned (after
 very solemn Debates in Council, where the Earl of
Lanerick the Secretary for *Scotland*, and other Lords
 of *Scotland*, who were of the Privy-Council, were
 present, and fully concurred, with many expres-
 sions of their detestation of the manners of their
 Countrymen, yet with assured confidence that they
 would not be corrupted to any Act of Hostility) to
 Mr. *Henderson*, and, with all expedition, by other
 hands into *Scotland*, this Answer; which likewise I
 think fit to insert in the very words, that Posterity
 may know how tender and provident the King al-
 ways was, to prevent any misunderstanding of Him,
 and his Actions with that People; and consequently
 any Commotions in that Kingdom; which was the
 only thing, he feared, might contribute to, and
 continue, the distractions in This.

His Majesty's Answer to the late Petition presented unto him by the hands of Mr. Alexander Henderson, from the Commissioners of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland. **BOOK VI.**

“ We received lately a Petition from you, by the hands of Mr. *Alexander Henderson*, to the which We intended to have given an Answer, as soon as We had transacted the business with the other Commissioners, addressed to Us from the Conservators of the Treaty of that our Kingdom. But finding the same to be published in Print, and to be dispersed throughout our Kingdom, to the great danger of scandalizing of our wellaffected Subjects; who may interpret the bitterness, and sharpness of some expressions, not to be so agreeable to that regard, and reverence, which is due to our Person, and the matter of the Petition itself to be reproachful to the Honor and Constitution of this Kingdom: We have been compelled, the more strictly to examine, as well the Authority of the Petitioners, as the matter of the Petition itself, and to publish our Opinion of both, that our Subjects of both Kingdoms may see how equally just, and sensible, We are of the Laws, and Honor of both our Kingdoms.

“ And first, upon perusal of the Petition, We required to see the Commission, by which the Messenger who brought the Petition, or the Persons who sent him, are Qualified to intermeddle in Affairs so Foreign to their Jurisdiction; and of so great Concernment to this our Kingdom

His Majesty's
Answer to the
Petition Mar.
20. 1642.

B O O K " of *England*. Upon examination whereof, and in
VI. " defence of the Laws, and Government of this our
" Kingdom. which We are trusted, and sworn to
" defend, We must profess that the Petitioners, or
" the General Assembly of Our Church of *Scotland*,
" have not the least Authority, or Power to inter-
" meddle, or interpose in the Affairs of this King-
" dom, or Church; which are settled, and esta-
" blished by the proper Laws of this Land, and,
" till they be altered by the same competent Power,
" cannot be inveighed against without a due sense
" of Us, and This Nation; much less can they
" present any Advice or Declaration to Our Houses
" of Parliament against the same; or, to that pur-
" pose, send any Letters, as they have now done
" to any Ministers of Our Church Here; who, by
" the Laws of this Land, cannot correspond against
" the same.

" Therefore, We do believe that the Petitioners,
" when they shall consider how unwarranted it is
" by the Laws of That Kingdom, and how con-
" trary it is to the Laws of This, to the professions
" they have made to each other, and how unbeco-
" ming in itself, for Them to require, the ancient,
" happy, and established Government of the Church
" of *England* to be altered, and conformed to the
" Laws, and Constitutions of another Church,
" will find themselves misled by the information of
" some Persons Here, who would willingly engage
" the Petitioners to foment a difference, and divi-
" sion between the two Kingdoms, which We have,
" with so much Care and Industry, endeavoured

“ to prevent; not having labored more to quench
 “ the combustion in this Kingdom, than We have
 “ to hinder the like from either devouring *Ireland*,
 “ or entering into *Scotland*; which, if all others will
 “ equally labor, will undoubtedly be avoided. But
 “ We cannot so easily pass over the mention of
 “ *Ireland* being moved to it by the scandalous
 “ Aspersions, that have been often cast upon Us,
 “ upon that Subject, and the use that hath been
 “ made of the woful distractions of that Kingdom,
 “ as of a Seminary of fears, and jealousies, to beget
 “ the like distractions in This; which lest they may
 “ have farther influence, We are the more willing
 “ to make our Innocence appear in that particular.
 “ When first that horrid Rebellion begun, We
 “ were in Our Kingdom of *Scotland*; and the sense
 “ We had then of it, the expressions We made
 “ concerning it, the Commissions, together with
 “ some other Assistance, We sent immediately into
 “ that Kingdom, and the instant recommendation
 “ We made of it to both our Houses of Parliament in
 “ *England*, are known to all Persons of Quality
 “ there and then about Us. After Our return into
 “ *England*, our ready concurring to all the desires
 “ of both Houses, that might most speedily repress
 “ that Rebellion, by passing the Bill of pressing,
 “ and in it a Clause, which quitted a Right chal-
 “ lenged by all, and enjoyed by many of our Pre-
 “ decessors, by parting with our Rights in the
 “ Lands Escheated to Us by that Rebellion, for the
 “ Encouragement of Adventurers; by emptying
 “ our Magazines of Arms and Ammunition for

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“ that Service (which We have since needed for
 “ our necessary Defence, and Preservation) by
 “ consenting to all Bills for the raising of Money
 “ for the same, though containing unusual Clauses,
 “ which trusted both Houses without Us with the
 “ manner of disposing it: Our often pressing both
 “ Houses, not to neglect that Kingdom. by being
 “ diverted by considerations, and disputes, less
 “ concerning both Kingdoms: Our offer of raising
 “ ten thousand Volunteers to be sent thither; and
 “ our several offers to engage our own Royal Person,
 “ in the suppression of that horrid Rebellion, are
 “ no less known to all this Nation, than our perpet-
 “ tual earnestness, by our Foreign Ministers, to
 “ keep all manner of supplies from being Transport-
 “ ed for the relief of the Rebels, is known to several
 “ Neighbouring Princes; which if all good Sub-
 “ jects will consider, and withal how many of the
 “ Men, and how much of the Money raised for
 “ that end, and how much time, care, and indus-
 “ try, have been diverted from that employment,
 “ and employed in this unnatural War against Us
 “ (the true cause of the present miseries, and want,
 “ which our *British* Armies there do now endure)
 “ they will soon free Us from all those Imputations,
 “ so scandalously and groundlessly laid upon Us;
 “ and impute the continuance of the combustion of
 “ that miserable Kingdom, the danger it may bring
 “ upon our Kingdoms of *England* and *Scotland*, and
 “ the beginning of this doleful Desolation, to those
 “ who are truly guilty of it.
 “ For Unity in Religion, which is desired, We

“ cannot but Answer, that We much apprehend,
“ lest the Papists may make some advantage of that
“ expression, by continuing that scandal with more
“ Authority, which they have ever heretofore used
“ to cast upon the Reformation, by interpreting
“ all the differences in Ceremony, Government, or
“ indifferent opinions between several Protestant
“ Churches, to be differences in Religion; and lest
“ our good Subjects of *England*, who have ever
“ esteemed themselves of the same Religion with you,
“ should suspect themselves to be esteemed by You
“ to be of a contrary; and that the Religion which
“ They, and their Ancestors have held, ever
“ since the blessed Reformation, and in, and for
“ which, they are resolved to die, is taxed, and
“ branded of falshood, or insufficiency, by such a
“ desire.

“ For Uniformity in Church-Government, We; con-
“ ceived the Answer formerly given by Us (at *Bridge-*
“ *north*, 13th *October* 1642) to the former Petition
“ in this Argument, would have satisfied the Peti-
“ tioners; and is so full, that We can add little to
“ it; viz. That the Government Here established
“ by the Laws, hath so near a Relation, and in-
“ termixture with the Civil State (which may be
“ unknown to the Petitioners) that till a composed,
“ digested Form, be presented to Us, upon a free
“ Debate of both Houses in a Parliamentary way,
“ whereby the consent and approbation of this whole
“ Kingdom may be had, and We, and all our Sub-
“ jects may discern, what is to be left in, or brought
“ in, as well as what is to be taken away; We know

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“ not how to consent to any Alteration , otherwise
 “ than to such an Act for the ease of Tender Con-
 “ sciences in the matter of Ceremonies , as We have
 “ often offered ; and that This , and any thing else
 “ that may concern the Peace of the Church , and
 “ the advancement of God’s true Religion , may be
 “ soberly discussed , and happily effected , We have
 “ formerly offered , and are still willing , that Debates
 “ of that nature may be entered into by a Synod of
 “ Godly , and Learned Divines , to be regularly
 “ chosen according to the Laws , and Customs of
 “ this Kingdom : To which We shall be willing that
 “ some Learned Divines of our Church of *Scotland*
 “ may be likewise sent , to be present , and offer , and
 “ debate their reasons . With this Answer the Peti-
 “ tioners had great reason to acquiesce , without
 “ enlarging the matter of their former Petition only
 “ with bitter expressions against the established
 “ Government , and Laws of their Neighbour Nation
 “ (as if it were contrary to the word of God) with
 “ whom they have so lately entered into a strict
 “ Amity , and Friendship .

“ But We cannot enough wonder , that the Peti-
 “ tioners should interpose themselves , not only as fit
 “ Directors , and Judges , between Us , and our two
 “ Houses of Parliament , in business so wholly
 “ concerning the Peace , and Government of this
 “ our Kingdom ; and in a matter so absolutely in-
 “ trusted to Us , as what new Laws to consent , or
 “ Not to consent to ; but should assume , and publish ,
 “ that the desire of Reformation in this Kingdom is
 “ in a Peaceable , and Parliamentary way ; when all

“ the world may know , that the proceedings Here
 “ have been, and are, not only contrary to all the
 “ Rules and Precedents of former Parliaments, but
 “ destructive to the Freedom, Privilege, and Dignity
 “ of Parliaments themselves: that We were first
 “ driven by Tumults, for the safety of Our life, from
 “ our Cities of *London*, and *Westminster*; and have
 “ been since pursued, fought withal, and are now
 “ kept from thence by an Army, raised and paid,
 “ as is pretended, by the two Houses, which consist
 “ not of the fourth part of the Number they ought to
 “ do; the rest being either driven from thence by the
 “ same violence, or expelled, or imprisoned, for
 “ not consenting to the Treasons and unheard of In-
 “ solences practised against Us. And if the Peti-
 “ tioners could believe these proceedings to be in a
 “ Peaceable, and Parliamentary way, they were
 “ very unacquainted with the order, and constitu-
 “ tion of this Kingdom, and not so fit Instruments
 “ to promote the Reformation, and Peace, they
 “ seem to desire.

“ We cannot believe the intermixture of the pre-
 “ sent Ecclesiastical Government with the Civil
 “ State, to be other than a very good reason; and
 “ that the Government of the Church should be by
 “ the Rules of human Policy, to be other than a
 “ very good Rule, unless some other Government
 “ were as well Proved, as Pretended, to be better
 “ warranted by the word of God.

“ Of any Bills offered to Us for Reformation, We
 “ shall not now speak, they being a part of those
 “ Articles upon which We have offered, and expect

B O O K “ to treat: But cannot but wonder, by what Autho-
 VI. “ rity, you prejudge our Judgment herein, by
 “ denouncing God’s Anger upon Us, and our
 “ hazard of the loss of the hearts of all our good
 “ Subjects, if We consent not unto them. The in-
 “ fluence of so many blessings from Heaven, upon
 “ the Reigns of Queen *Elizabeth* and our Father of
 “ blessed Memory, and acknowledgment of Them
 “ by all Protestant Churches, to have been careful
 “ Nurseries of the Church of Christ, and to have ex-
 “ cellently discharged their duties, in the Custody,
 “ and Vindication of Religion; and the Affection
 “ of their Subjects to them, do sufficiently assure
 “ Us, that We should neither stop the influence
 “ of such blessings, nor grieve the hearts of all
 “ the Godly, nor hazard the loss of the hearts of
 “ our Good Subjects, although We still maintain,
 “ in this Kingdom, the same established Ecclesiastical
 “ Government which flourished in Their times, and
 “ under Their special Protection.

“ We doubt not, but our Subjects of *Scotland*
 “ will rest abundantly satisfied with such Alterations
 “ in their own Church, as We have assented unto;
 “ and not be persuaded by a mere Assertion, that
 “ there is no hope of continuance of what is *There*
 “ settled by Law, unless that be likewise altered
 “ which is settled *Here*. And our Subjects of *England*
 “ will never depart from their dutiful Affection to
 “ Us, for not consenting to new Laws, which, by
 “ the Law of the Land, they know We may as justly
 “ reject, if We approve not of them, as Either
 “ House hath power to prepare for, or Both, to
 propound

“ propound to Us. Nor are you a little mistaken, if
 “ either you believe the generality of this Nation, to
 “ desire a Change of Church Government, or that
 “ most of tho’e, who desire it, desire by it to intro-
 “ duce that which You only esteem a Reformation;
 “ but are as unwilling to submit to what You call the
 “ Yoke of Christ, and obedience to the Gospel, as
 “ those whom You call prophane, and worldly Men;
 “ and so equally averse both to Episcopacy, and Pres-
 “ bytery. that, if they should prevail in this parti-
 “ cular, the abolition of the One, would be no
 “ inlet to the Other; nor would your hearts be
 “ less grieved, your expectations less frustrated
 “ your hopes less ashamed, or your Reformation
 “ more secured. And the Petitioners, upon
 “ due considerations, will not find themselves less
 “ mistaken in the Government of all the Reformed
 “ Churches, which they say, is by Assemblies, than
 “ they are in the best way of Reformation; which
 “ sure is best to be in a Common, and Ordinary way,
 “ where the Passion, or Interest of particular Men
 “ may not impose upon the public; but alteration be
 “ then only made, when, upon calm debates, and
 “ evident, and clear reason, and convenience, the
 “ same shall be generally consented to for the Peace,
 “ and Security of the People; and those, who are
 “ trusted by the Law, with such debates, are not
 “ divested of that trust, upon a General charge of
 “ Corruptions, pretended to have entered by that
 “ way; and of being the Persons to be Reformed,
 “ and so unfit to be Reformers. And certainly, the
 “ like Logic, with the like Charges, and Pretences

B O O K “ might be used to make the Parliament itself an
 VI. “ incapable Judge of any Reformation, either in
 “ Church, or State.

“ For the general expressions in the Petition against
 “ Papists, in which the Petitioners may be understood
 “ to charge us with Compliance and even Favor to
 “ their opinions; We have taken all occasions to
 “ publish to the world our practice and resolution
 “ in the true Protestant Reformed Religion: and
 “ We are verily persuaded, there is no One Subject,
 “ in either of our Dominions, who at all knows us,
 “ and hath observed our life, but is, in his Soul,
 “ satisfied of our constant Zeal and unmoveable
 “ Affection to that Religion, and of our true dislike
 “ of, and hearty Opposition to Popery. And as We
 “ willingly consented, at our being in *Scotland*, to
 “ Acts proposed to Us, for the discountenancing,
 “ and the reforming the Papists in that our Kingdom;
 “ so, by our Proclamations for the putting of all
 “ Laws severely in execution against Recusants; and
 “ by not refusing any one Bill, presented to Us to
 “ that purpose, in this Kingdom; and by our per-
 “ petual and public professions of readiness, with
 “ the advice of our two Houses of Parliament, pre-
 “ pared for Us in a deliberate and orderly way, to
 “ find some expedient to perfect so good a work;
 “ We conceived, We had not left it possible, for
 “ any Man to believe Us guilty of tolerating any
 “ part of the Romish Tyranny or Superstition; or to
 “ suspect, that the Conversion of our dearest Consort
 “ was not so much our desire, that the Accession of
 “ as many Crowns as God hath already bestowed on

“ Us, would not be more welcome to Us than that
 “ day: A blessing, which it is our daily Prayer to
 “ the Almighty be bestow upon Us.

“ But We might well have expected from the Pe-
 “ titioners, who have in their Solemn, National
 “ Covenant, literally sworn so much care of the
 “ safety of our Person, and cannot but know in how
 “ much danger That hath been, and still is, by the
 “ power and threats of Rebellious Armies, that they
 “ would as well have remembered the 23^d of *October*,
 “ as the 5th of *November*; and as well have taken
 “ notice of the Army raised, and led against us by
 “ the Earl of *Essex*, which hath actually assaulted,
 “ and endeavoured to murder Us; which We know
 “ to abound in *Brownists*, *Anabaptists*, and other
 “ Sectaries; and in which We have reason (by Pri-
 “ soners We have taken, and the evidence they
 “ have given) to believe there are many more Papists
 “ (and many of those Foreigners) than in all our
 “ Army; as have advised Us, to disband out of the
 “ Army of the Earl of *New-Castle*, which is raised
 “ for our defence, the Papists in that Army, who
 “ are known to be no such Number, as to endanger
 “ their obtaining any power of building Their Ba-
 “ bel, and setting up Their Idolatry; and whose
 “ Loyalty he hath reason to commend (though he
 “ was never suspected for favoring their Religion)
 “ not before that of Protestants, but of such as Rebel
 “ under that Title; and whose Assistance is as due
 “ to Us, by the Law of God and Man, to rescue
 “ Us from Domestic Rebellion, as to defend Us
 “ from Foreign Invasion; which We think no Man

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“ denies to be lawful for them to do. But We do
 “ solemnly declare, and protest, that God shall no
 “ sooner free Us from the desperate, and Rebellious
 “ Arms taken up against Us. but We shall endea-
 “ vour to free Ourselves and Kingdom from any fear
 “ of danger from the other, by disarming them,
 “ according to the Laws of this Land; as We shall
 “ not fail to send Our Commissioner to the Assem-
 “ bly, at the time appointed for it by the Laws of
 “ *Scotland*

“ To conclude, We desire, and require the Pe-
 “ titioners (as becomes good, and pious Preachers
 “ of the Gospel) to use their utmost endeavours, to
 “ compose any distraction in opinions, or misunder-
 “ standings, which may, by the Faction of some
 “ turbulent Persons, be raised in the minds of our
 “ good Subjects of that our Kingdom; and to infuse
 “ into them a true sense of Charity, Obedience. and
 “ Humility, the great principles of the Christian
 “ Religion; that they may not suffer themselves to
 “ be transported with things that they do not un-
 “ derstand, or think themselves concerned in the
 “ Government of another Kingdom, because it is
 “ not according to the Customs of that in which
 “ They live; but that they dispose themselves, with
 “ modesty, and devotion, to the service of Al-
 “ mighty God; with Duty, and Affection, to the
 “ obedience of Us, and our Laws (remembering
 “ the singular grace, favor, and benignity, We
 “ have always expressed to that our Native King-
 “ dom) and with Brotherly, and Christian Charity
 “ one towards another: And We doubt not but

“ God, in his mercy to Us and Them, will make
 “ us instruments of his Blessings upon each other,
 “ and Both of us, in a great measure, of happiness,
 “ and prosperity, to the whole Nation.”

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The Lord *Lowden*, and the other lay Commissioners, who were Persons entirely guided by him, and of inferior Quality, gave the precedence to this Petition, which they called matter of Religion; and pressed not their own Commission, till the King had declared, and published his Answer to the other; and though they pretended not to have any Authority, to say any thing in that engagement of the Commissioners of the Assembly; yet the Lord *Lowden* used all importunity, and arguments, to persuade the King in private, to consent to the alteration of the Government of the Church; assuring him, “ that it would be a means, not only to hinder his
 “ Subjects of *Scotland* from adhering to the Parlia-
 “ ment; but that it would oblige them, to assist his
 “ Majesty to the utmost, in the vindication of all
 “ his Rights.” But he quickly found the King too strongly fixed to be swayed in a case of Conscience, by a consideration of Convenience; and his Lordship undertook to give no other Arguments.

The Trans-
actions of the
Earl of
Lowden and
other Scottish
Commissioners
at Oxford:
that they
might be Me-
diators, and
for a Parlia-
ment in
Scotland.

He betook himself then with his Companions, to their own proper, and avowed Errand; which consisted of two parts: The One, to offer “ the media-
 “ tion of the Conservators of the Peace of that
 “ Kingdom, for the composition of the differences
 “ between the King and the two Houses;” the
 Other, “ to desire his Majesty, that he would send
 “ out his precepts to Summon a Parliament in *Scot-*

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"land." These desires, and any Arguments to in-
force them, they always delivered to the King him-
self in writing; declining any Address to his Minis-
ters, or any debates with his Council, lest it might
seem to lessen the Grandeur and Absoluteness of the
Kingdom of *Scotland*. But the King always brought
those papers, which he received from them, to his
Council; and received Their advice, what An-
swers to return. For the first, of Mediation, they
pretended a Title, and obligation to it; by a
Clause in the Act of Pacification made at the begin-
ning of this Parliament; which Clause was: "That
"the Peace to be then established, might be invio-
"lably observed, in all time to come, it was agreed,
"that some should be appointed by his Majesty,
"and the Parliaments of both Kingdoms, who,
"in the interim betwixt the sitting of the Parlia-
"ments, might be careful, that the Peace then
"happily concluded might be continued; and who
"should endeavour by all means to prevent all
"troubles, and divisions; and if any debate and
"difference should happen to arise, to the disturb-
"ance of the Common-Peace, they should labor
"to remove, or compose them, according to their
"power; it being supposed, that for all their pro-
"ceedings of this Kind, they should be answerable
"to the King's Majesty and the Parliament; and if
"any thing should fall out that should be above
"their power, and could not be remedied by them,
"they should inform themselves in the particulars,
"and represent the same to the King's Majesty, and
"the ensuing Parliament; that, by their Wisdoms

“ and Authority, all occasion and causes of troubles
 “ might be removed, and the Peace of the King-
 “ dom might be perpetual to all posterity And
 “ it was declared, that the power of the Commis-
 “ sion should be restrained to the Articles of Peace
 “ in that Treaty.”

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This Clause, and the whole Statute, being carefully perused and examined before his Majesty in his Council, the King returned an Answer to them in writing.

“ That He could not find any color, or pretence
 “ of Authority, to be granted by that Act of Par-
 “ liament, by which the Commissioners for *Scotland*
 “ could conceive themselves interested in a faculty
 “ of Mediation; that the Clause mentioned by them
 “ (besides that there was no such Commission grant-
 “ ed as was mentioned in that Clause, nor any
 “ Commissioners named for those purposes) related
 “ only to the differences that might grow between
 “ the two Nations; and only upon the Articles of
 “ that Treaty, which, his Majesty said, had been,
 “ and should be inviolably observed by Him. That
 “ the differences between his Majesty and his two
 “ Houses of Parliament, had not the least Relation
 “ to the Peace between the two Kingdoms, but to
 “ his unquestionable, and long enjoyed Rights,
 “ which, his Rebellious Subjects endeavoured, by
 “ Force, to wrest from him; and concerned the
 “ fundamental Laws of this Kingdom; which, as
 “ they could not be supposed to be known to the
 “ Conservators of the Peace of *Scotland*, so They
 “ could not have any possible Cognizance of them.

The King's
 Answer to
 them in both
 particulars.

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“ That it might give great Umbrage to his Subjects
“ of *England* if he should consent to what they
“ now propos’d; and instead of confirming, and
“ continuing the Peace, breed jealousies between
“ the Nations; and therefore he could not admit of
“ any such Mediation as they propos’d, but that
“ he hoped the Treaty, which he now expected,
“ would beget so good an understanding between
“ Him and his two Houses, that a Peace might
“ ensue; towards which he would expect nothing
“ from his Subjects of *Scotland*, but their Prayers.”

This gave them no satisfaction, but they insisted still on their right by that Clause; which, without any Reason or Argument to persuade others to be of their mind, they said, “ they conceived, but that
“ obligation upon them of interposition;” to which the King did give the same Answer.

For their other demand of a Parliament in *Scotland*, the case stood thus: The King, at his last being in *Scotland* had, according to the Precedent he had made Here, granted an Act for Triennial Parliaments in that Kingdom; and, at the close of that present Parliament, had ratified another Act, by which, a certain day was appointed, for the Commencement of the next; which day was to be on the first *Tuesday* of *June*, in the year 1644, except the King should call one sooner; which he had power to do. So that the question was only, whether the calling a Parliament sooner in that Kingdom, was like to advance His service, and to contribute to the Peace of This? In the disquisition whereof, there needed no Arguments, that such a Convention

could not then produce benefit to the King; the entire Government of that People being in those Persons, who had contrived those dismal alterations. On the other hand, all Men thought it very happy for the King, that, without His consent, there could be no Parliament in *Scotland*, till *June 1644*; which was more than fourteen Months from this time: till when, how disinclined soever the whole Nation should be, there was as much Assurance, as could possibly be, from that People, that the Parliament would not be able to procure any avowed supply from that Kingdom: It being the express words in the late Act of Pacification, “that the Kingdom of *England* should not denounce, or make War against the Kingdom of *Scotland*, without consent of the Parliament of *England*,” as on the other part, it was enacted, “that the Kingdom of *Scotland* should not denounce, or make War against the Kingdom of *England*, without the consent of the Parliament of *Scotland*. And in case any of the Subjects of either of the Kingdoms should arise in Arms, or make War against the other Kingdom, or Subjects thereof, without consent of the Parliament of that Kingdom, whereof they are Subjects, or upon which they do depend, that they should be held, reputed, and demanded, as Traytors to the Estates, whereof they are Subjects. And, that both the Kingdoms, in that case, should be bound to concur in the repressing of those that should happen to arise in Arms, or make War, without consent of their own Parliament.”

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So that whoever believed, that those People could be constrained by any obligations, Divine, or Human, thought it impossible, by these clear Texts, that any Forces could be raised there to invade *England*, and disturb his Majesty, till *June 1644*; before which time, there was hope the King might so far prevail, that the spirit of the Rebellion might be broken, and Men return again to their Understanding, and Allegiance. Therefore to that demand the King returned Answer, "that against the time by which they could legally demand a Parliament" (naming the day) "he would issue out his Writs, and there being no emergent Cause to do it sooner, he would forbear to put his Subjects there to that trouble, which those meetings, how necessary soever, would naturally carry with them."

When they perceived that they should not receive satisfaction in either of their Proposals, and (which it may be troubled them more) that the King was so wary in his Answers, and so clearly expressed the Reasons, and Justice of them, that they should have no Arguments to apply to the passion, or interest, of their Country-men; which they expected at least (For in that, in which he was most stedfastly resolved, the preservation of the Government of the Church, he expressed no more to them, than, "That being a matter of so great importance, and having so near Relation to the Civil Government, and Laws of *England*, They could not be competent considerers of it; but that He would do what should be most safe, and necessary for the peace and welfare of his Subjects, who were most concerned in

“ it)” At last rather cursorily, and as matter of Ceremony at parting, than of moment. they desired “ the King’s leave, and Pass to go to *London*, having,” as they said, “ some business there before their return “ into their own Country.”

This was, by many, thought a thing of so small moment, that the King should readily grant it; since it was evident, that it was in their own power to go thither without his leave; for they were necessarily to return through the Enemies Quarters; and being once there, they might chuse whether they would go directly home, or visit *London*. And therefore that request was thought but an Instance of their modesty, that they might not return without one thing granted to them, at their request. But the King looked upon it as no indifferent thing; and their asking a business that they needed not ask, was enough to demonstrate, that there was more in it than appeared. And he well knew there was a great difference between their going to *London* with His Pass, and Licence, and without it, which they might easily do. They had now publicly declared their Errand, and claimed a Title, and Legal Capacity to undertake the business of Mediation; which would be so far from being rejected there, that they would be thankfully received, and admitted to a power of Umpirage. If upon, or after this claim, the King should grant them His Pass, it would by their Logic, more reasonably conclude his Assent, than many of those inferences which they drew from more distant Propositions; and having that ground once, his Majesty’s not consenting to what those grave

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Mediators would propose, and afterwards, as Arbitrators, award, should be quarrel sufficient for the whole Nation to Engage. And therefore the King expressly denied his Pass, and Safe-Conduct; and told them plainly the reason why he did so; and required them, "since he had denied to consent to that which could be the only ground of their going to *London*, that they should first return to those that sent them, before they attempted that Journey: if they did otherwise, they must run the hazard of Persons, whom his Majesty would not countenance with His Protection." And the truth is, though they might very well have gone to *London*, they could not have returned thence to *Scotland* (except they would have submitted to the inconvenience and hazard of a Voyage by Sea) without so much danger from the King's Quarters in the North (*York*, and *New-Castle* being at His devotion) that they could not reasonably promise themselves to escape.

The Parlia-
ment's Com-
missioners to
Treat came to
Oxford.

Whilst this was in agitation, the Committee from the Parliament for the Treaty, to wit, the Earl of *Northumberland*, Mr. *Pierrepont*, Sir *W. Armyn*, Sir *John Holland*, and Mr. *Witlock*, came to *Oxford*, who shortly took notice of the *Scottish* Commissioners desires, and also desired on Their behalf, "that they might have his Majesty's leave to go to *London*:" but being quickly answered, "that That request would not fall within either of the Propositions agreed to be treated of," they modestly gave over the Intercession: and in the end, the Lord *Lowden*, and his Country-men, returned directly to *Scotland*.

staying only so long in the Garrisons of the Enemy, through which they were reasonably to pass, as to receive such Animadversions, and to entertain such Communication, as they thought most necessary.

As soon as the Committee arrived at *Oxford*, they were very graciously received by the King: his Majesty always giving them Audience in Council, and They withdrawing into a private Chamber prepared for them, whilst their Proposals, which they still delivered in writing, were considered, and debated before the King. They declared, "that they were first to Treat of the Cessation, and till that was concluded, that they were not to enter upon any of the other Propositions," with which his Majesty was well pleased, presuming that they had brought, or had power to give, consent to the Articles proposed by him; which he rather believed, when they read the preamble to the Articles; in which it was declared, "that the Lords and Commons being still carried on with a vehement desire of Peace, that so the Kingdom might be freed from the desolation, and destruction, wherewith it was like to be overwhelmed, had considered of the Articles of Cessation with those alterations, and additions, offered by his Majesty; unto which they were ready to agree in such manner as was expressed in the ensuing Articles." After which, were inserted the very Articles had been first sent to the King, without the least condescension to any one Alteration, or Addition, made by him; neither had the Committee power to recede or consent to any Alteration, but only to publish it, if the King consented

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The Treaty
begins upon
the proposals
of Cessation,
but that takes
no effect.

BOOK in Terms, and Then, and not till Then, to proceed
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This the King looked upon as an ill Omen; other Men as a plain Contempt, and Stratagem, to make the People believe by their sending their Committee, that they did desire a Treaty and a Cessation, yet, by limiting them so strictly, to frustrate Both, and to cast the Eavy of it upon the King. Hereupon, the next day, the King sent a Message to them, which he published, to undeceive the People; farther pressing “the weight and consequence of his former exceptions, and alterations; and the inconvenience
“that proceeded from not granting their Committee
“power to alter so much as verbal Expressions: so
“that, if the King should consent to the Articles,
“as they were proposed, he should not only submit
“to great disadvantages; but some such, as Them-
“selves would not think reasonable to oblige him
“to. As by that Article wherein they reserved a
“power to send out a Fleet, or what Ships They
“thought good, to Sea; they were not at all re-
“strained, from sending what Land-Forces they
“pleased, to any part of the Kingdom; so that,
“when the Cessation ended, they might have new,
“and greater Armies throughout the Kingdom, than
“they had when it begun; which he presumed,
“they did not intend; being a thing so unequal, and
“contrary to the Nature of a Cessation.

“Then in the Articles they last sent, they styled
“their Forces. the Army raised by the Parliament,
“the which if his Majesty should consent to, he
“must acknowledge, either that He consented to

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“ the raising that Army, or that He was no part of
 “ the Parliament: neither of which, he conceived,
 “ they would oblige him to do. And therefore, He
 “ desired, that their Committee might have liberty
 “ to Treat, Debate, and agree upon the Articles;
 “ upon which They, and all the World should find,
 “ that He was less solicitous for his own Dignity,
 “ and Greatness, than for his Subjects Ease, and
 “ Liberty. But if that so reasonable, equal, and just
 “ desire of His, should not be yielded unto, but the
 “ same Articles still, insisted upon, though his Ma-
 “ jesty, next to Peace, desired a Cessation, yet, that
 “ the not agreeing upon the One, might not destroy
 “ the hopes of, nor so much as delay, the Other; He
 “ was willing to Treat, even without a Cessation,
 “ upon the Propositions themselves, in that order
 “ that was agreed; and desired their Committee
 “ might be enabled to that effect. In which Treaty
 “ he would give,” He said, “ all his Subjects that
 “ satisfaction, that if any security to enjoy all the
 “ Rights, Privileges, and Liberties, due to them
 “ by the Law, or that happiness in Church and State,
 “ which the best times had seen, with such farther
 “ Acts of Grace, as might agree with his Honor,
 “ Justice, and Duty to his Crown, and which might
 “ not render him less able to protect his Subjects,
 “ according to his Oath, would satisfy them; his
 “ Majesty was confident, in the Mercy of God, that
 “ no more precious blood of this Nation would be
 “ thus miserably spent.

This Message produced Liberty to the Committee
 to enter upon the Treaty itself, upon the Proposi-

BOOK VI. tions, though the Cessation should not be agreed to: and shortly after they sent reasons to the King, why they consented not to the Cessation in such manner, and with those limitations, as He had proposed.

1. They alledged, " that, if they should grant such
 " a free Trade, as the King desired, to *Oxford*, and
 " other places, where his Forces lay, it would be
 " very difficult, if not impossible, to keep Arms,
 " Ammunition, Money, and Bullion, from passing
 " to his Army: However, it would be exceeding
 " advantageous to his Majesty, in supplying his
 " Army with many necessaries, and making their
 " Quarters a Staple for such Commodities, as might
 " be vented in the adjacent Counties; and so draw
 " Money thither; whereby the Inhabitants would
 " be better enabled by Loans, and Contributions,
 " to support his Army. As this advantage to Him
 " was very Demonstrable, so it was very Impro-
 " bable, that it would produce any supply to Them;
 " and, in a Treaty for Cessation, those Demands
 " could not be thought reasonable that were not
 " indifferent, that is, equally advantageous to both
 " Parties. 2. That to Demand the approving the
 " Commanders of the Ships, was, to desire to add
 " the strength of the one Party to the other before
 " the differences were ended: against all Rules of
 " Treaty. And to make a Cessation at Sea, was to
 " leave the Kingdom naked to Foreign Forces, and
 " the Ports open for His supplies of Arms, and Am-
 " munition. But for conveying any Forces, by those
 " means, from one part to the other, they would
 " observe the Article, by which that was restrained.

3. For

“ 3. For the expression of the Army raised by the
 “ Parliament, they were contented it should be
 “ altered, and the name of the two Houses used.
 “ 4. For the Committing none, but according to the
 “ known Laws of the Land, that is, by the ordi-
 “ nary Process of Law, it would follow, that no
 “ Man must be committed by Them for supplying
 “ the King with Arms, Money, or Ammunition;
 “ for, by the Law of the Land, the Subject might
 “ carry such goods from *London to Oxford*: The Sol-
 “ diers must not be committed who do run from
 “ their Colors, and refuse any duty in the Army;
 “ no Man should be committed, for not submitting
 “ to necessary supplies of Money: so that if it should
 “ be yielded to, in his Majesty’s sense, they should
 “ be disabled to restrain supplies from their Enemies,
 “ and to govern, and maintain their own Soldiers;
 “ and so, under a disguise of a Cessation, should
 “ admit that which would necessarily produce the
 “ dissolving of their Army, and destruction of their
 “ Cause.” And, they said, “ it was not probable,
 “ that his Majesty would suffer the same inconve-
 “ niences by that Clause; for that they believed he
 “ would interpret, that what his General did by
 “ Virtue of his Commission, was and would be
 “ done according to the known Laws of the Land;
 “ whereas he had denied, that those known Laws
 “ gave any power to the two Houses of Parliament,
 “ to raise Armies; and so, consequently, their Ge-
 “ neral could not exercise any Martial Laws. So
 “ that under the specious show of Liberty, and
 “ Law, They should be altogether disabled to
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“ defend their Liberties and Laws; and his Majesty
 “ would enjoy an absolute Victory, and Submission,
 “ under pretence of a Cessation, and Treaty. They
 “ said, being, by a necessity inevitable, enforced
 “ to a Defensive War, and therein warranted both
 “ by the Laws of God and Man, it must needs
 “ follow, that, by the same Law, they were ena-
 “ bled to raise means to support that War; and there-
 “ fore they could not relinquish that power of laying
 “ Taxes upon those who ought to join with them
 “ in that Defence, and the necessary way of Levy-
 “ ing those Taxes upon them, in case of refusal; for
 “ otherwise their Army must needs be dissolved.

Though these Reasons were capable, in a sad, and composed Debate, of full Answers, and many things would naturally have flowed from them, to disprove the Practice and Assertions of the framers of them; yet it was very evident, that they carried such a kind of reason with them, as would prevail over the understandings of the People; and that the King, by not consenting to the Cessation, as it was proposed by them, would be generally thought to have rejected Any; which could not but have an ill influence upon his Affairs: and therefore his Majesty sent them, as soon as he had weighed this late Message, which he well discerned was not formed to satisfy Him, but to satisfy the People against Him, an Answer; in which he explained the ill consequence of many of their Assumptions, and enforced the importance of his former demands on the behalf of the People; however, he offered “ to admit the Cessa-
 “ tion upon the matter of their own Articles; so that

“ he might not be understood to consent to any of
 “ those unjust, and illegal powers, which they exer-
 “ cised upon the Subjects.” But from henceforward,
 the Houses declined any farther Argument, and
 Debate concerning the Cessation; and directed their
 Committee, “ to expedite the Treaty upon the Pro-
 “ positions:” the Particulars whereof being transac-
 ted in the beginning of the year 1643. I shall refer
 the Narrative to the next Book; intending in This,
 only to comprehend the Transactions to the end
 of 1642.

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I am persuaded if the King had, upon the receipt
 of the Articles for the Cessation, when they were
 first sent to him, frankly consented to it, it would
 have proved very much to his advantage; and that
 His Army would very much have increased by it,
 and the Other been impaired; and that it would have
 been very difficult for the Parliament to have dis-
 solved it, if once begun, or to have determined
 the Treaty. But besides the reasons before men-
 tioned, the consideration of the Northern Forces,
 and the restraining them within their old Quarters,
 who seemed to be in a condition of marching even
 to *London* itself, prevailed very far with the King;
 or rather (which indeed was the main reason, and
 rendered every other Suggestion of Weight) the
 jealousy that they did not intend to consent to, or
 admit any Peace, but such a one as his Majesty
 might Not admit, made all the preliminary Debates
 the more insisted on.

I cannot but insert one Particular, which may
 hereafter be thought of some signification. It was

B O O K now the time of the year when, by the custom of
VI. the Kingdom, the King's Judges *Itinerant* used to go the Circuits throughout *England*, and *Wales*, to administer Justice to the People; and to inquire into all Treasons, Felonies, Breaches of the Peace, and other Misdemeanours; which were any where committed contrary to the known Laws, and they were sworn to judge according to those known Laws, the study and knowledge whereof was their Profession.

The advice
 and desires of
 the two Hou-
 ses concerning
 Goal-delivery.

The Lords and Commons now sent to the King a special Message, "to advise, and desire him, that, in regard of the present distractions, which might hinder both the Judges, and the People, from resorting to those places where such meetings might be appointed, the Assizes and Goal-delivery might not be holden; but that it might be deferred, until it should please God to restore Peace unto his People."

His Majesty's
 Answer.

The King returned them Answer; "that the present bloody distractions of the Kingdom, which he had used all possible means to prevent, and would still to remove, did afflict his Majesty under no consideration more, than of the great interruption, and stop it made in the Course and Proceedings of Justice, and the Execution of the Laws; whereby his good Subjects were robbed of the Peace, and Security they were born to. And therefore, as much as in Him lay, he would advance that only means of their happiness; at least, they should see that their Sufferings that way, proceeded not from his Majesty; and since they might now expect, by the Laws, Statutes, and Customs of

“ the Kingdom, the Affizes and general Goal-delivery in every County, his Majesty thought not fit to Command the contrary; but would take severe, and precise order, that None of his Subjects should receive the least prejudice, as they repaired thither, by any of his Forces, which rule he should be glad to see observed by others. And then he hoped, by the execution of the Laws, even those public Calamities might have some abatement, and the Kingdom recover its former Peace, and Prosperity.”

But this Answer was not more satisfactory than others they had usually received from Him; and therefore they betook themselves to their old, tried Weapon, and made an Ordinance, “ that all Judges, and Justices of Assize, and *Nisi prius*, and Justices of Oyer and Terminer, and Goal-delivery, should forbear to execute any of their said Commissions, or to hold or keep any Assizes, or Goal-delivery; at any time during that Lent-Vacation; as they would Answer the contempt, and neglect thereof, before the Lords and Commons in Parliament.”

The two Houses make an Ordinance to forbid the next Assizes, and Goal-delivery.

This was the first avowed Interruption, and Suspension of the public Justice, that happened, or that was known ever before in that kind; and gave the People occasion to believe, that what the Parliament did (what pretence soever there was of Fundamental Laws) was not so warrantable by that Rule, since they labored so much to suppress that Inquisition. It was not in the King's power to help this; for besides that the example of Judge *Mallet*, who, the Circuit before, had been forcibly taken from the

BOOK VI. Bench by a Troop of Horse, as is before remembered, terrified all the Judges (and there were very few Counties in *England*, in which they could have been secure from the like Violence) the Records, upon which the Legal Proceedings were to be, were at *London*; and so the exercise of the Law ceased throughout the Kingdom, save only in some few Counties, whither the King sent some Judges of Assize, and into others, his Commission of Oyer and Terminer; by virtue whereof, the Earl of *Essex*, and many others, were as legally attainted of High-Treason, as the Wisdom of our Ancestors could direct.

Account,
and Character
of the Privy-
Counsellors
then attending
the King, and
those who
lay with the
two Houses

Mr. Hyde
made Chan-
cellor of the
Exchequer.

The Treaty, as is said, being managed at the Council-Table, the Pride of the Parliament having refused to Treat with any but the King himself, and his Majesty resolving to transact all by the Advice and Opinion of his Privy-Council, it will be seasonable in this place to set down the Names of all those Privy-Counsellors, who attended the King: there being at this time a new one added to the number; for in the time between the return of the Commissioners to *London*, and their coming back to the Treaty, Sir *John Colepepper* being preferred to be Master of the Rolls, Mr. *Hyde* was made Chancellor of the Exchequer; who, till that time, though he was known to be trusted in matters of the greatest importance, was not under any Character in the Court: And when We have named those, who according to their duty did wait upon the King, We shall likewise name those, who, being under the same obligation, stayed and acted with the Parliament against him.

The Lord *Lyttleton* was Keeper of the Great Seal of *England*, of whom so much hath been said before, that there is no need of Enlargement upon him in this place. His parts, which in the profession of the Law were very great, were not very applicable to the business now in hand; and though, from the time of the King's coming to *Oxford*, the King had confidence enough in him, to leave the Seal in his Custody, and he would have been glad to have done any service; yet, by ill fortune, he had drawn so great a disesteem upon him from most Men, that he gave little Reputation to the Council, and had little Authority in it.

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Of the Lord
Lyttleton.

The Duke of *Richmond*, as he was of the noblest extraction, being nearest allied to the King's Person of any Man who was not descended from King *James*; so he was very worthy of all the grace and favor the King had showed him; who had taken great care of his Education, and sent him into *France*, *Italy*, and *Spain*, where he was created a Grandee of that Kingdom; and as soon as he returned, though he was scarce one-and-twenty years of Age, made him a Privy-Counsellor; and shortly after, out of his abundant kindness to both Families, married him to the sole Daughter of his dead Favorite, the Duke of *Buckingham*; with whom he received twenty thousand pounds in Portion; and his Majesty's bounty was likewise very great to him; so that, as he was very eminent in his Title, he was at great ease in his Fortune. He was a Man of very good parts, and an excellent understanding; yet, which is no common infirmity, so diffident of him-

Of the Duke
of *Richmond*.

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self, that he was sometimes led by Men who judged much worse. He was of a great, and haughty Spirit, and so punctual in point of Honor, that he never swerved a tittle. He had so entire a Resignation of himself to the King, that he abhorred all Artifices to shelter himself from the prejudice of those, who, how Powerful soever, failed in their duty to his Majesty; and therefore he was pursued with all imaginable malice by them, as One that would have no Quarter, upon so infamous Terms, as but looking on whilst his Master was ill used. As he had received great Bounties from the King, so he Sacrificed all he had to his Service, as soon as his occasions stood in need of it; and lent his Majesty, at one time, twenty thousand pounds together; and, as soon as the War begun, engaged his three Brothers, all Gallant Gentlemen, in the Service; in which they all lost their Lives. Himself lived, with unspotted Fidelity, some years after the Murder of his Master, and was suffered to put him into his Grave; and Died, without the comfort of seeing the Resurrection of the Crown.

of the Marquis
of Hertford.

The Marquis of *Hertford* was a Man of great Honor, and Fortune, and Interest in the Affection of the People; and had always undergone hard measure from the Court, where he long received no Countenance, and had no design of making advantage from it. For, though he was a Man of very good parts, and conversant in Books, both in the Latin and Greek Languages, and of a clear Courage, of which he had given frequent Evidence; yet he was so wholly given up to a Country-life,

where he lived in Splendor, that he had an aversion, and even an unaptness, for Business: Besides his particular Friendship with the Earl of *Essex*, whose Sister he had Married, his greatest Acquaintance and Conversation had been with those who had the Reputation of being best affected to the Liberty of the Kingdom, and least in love with the humor of the Court; many of whom were the chief of those who engaged themselves most factiously, and furiously against the King. But as soon as he discerned their violent purposes against the Government established, before he suspected their blacker designs, he severed himself from them; and, from the beginning of the Parliament, never concurred with them in any one Vote dishonorable to the King, or in the prosecution of the Earl of *Strafford*. He did accept the Government of the Prince of *Wales*, as is mentioned before, purely out of obedience to the King; and, no doubt, it was a great service; though for the performance of the Office of a Governor, he never thought himself fit, nor meddled with it. He left *York*, as is remembered, to form an Army for the King in the West, where his Interest was; but he found those parts so corrupted, and an Army from the Parliament was poured down so soon upon him, that there was nothing for the present to be done worthy of his presence; so that he sent the small party, that was with him, farther West to *Cornwal*; where, by degrees, they grew able to raise an Army, with which they joined with him afterwards again; and himself returned to the King at *Oxford*, about the time when the Treaty begun.

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Of the Earl of
Southampton.

The Earl of *Southampton* was indeed a great Man in all respects, and brought very much Reputation to the King's Cause. He was of a nature much inclined to Melancholy, and being born a Younger Brother, and his Father, and his Elder Brother dying upon the point together, whilst he was but a Boy, he was at first much troubled to be called *my Lord*; and with the noise of Attendance; so much he Then delighted to be alone. He had a great Spirit; he had never had any conversation in the Court, nor obligation to it. On the contrary, he had undergone some hardship from it; which made it believed, that he would have been ready to have taken all occasions of being severe towards it. And therefore, in the beginning of the Parliament, no Man was more courted by the Managers of those Designs. He had great dislike of the High Courses, which had been taken in the Government, and a particular prejudice to the Earl of *Strafford*, for some exorbitant proceedings. But, as soon as he saw the ways of reverence and duty towards the King declined, and the prosecution of the Earl of *Strafford* to exceed the limits of Justice, he opposed them vigorously in all their proceedings. He was a Man of great sharpness of Judgment, a very quick Apprehension, and that readiness of Expression upon any sudden Debate, that no Man delivered himself more advantageously, and weightily, and more efficaciously with the hearers; so that no Man gave them more trouble in his opposition, or drew so many to a concurrence with him in opinion. He had no relation to, or dependance upon the Court, or purpose to

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have any ; but wholly pursued the public Interest. It was long before he could be prevailed with to be a Counsellor , and longer before he would be admitted to be of the Bed-Chamber ; and received both Honors the rather , because , after he had refused to take a Protestation , which both Houses had ordered to be taken by all their Members , They had likewise Voted , “ that no Man should be capable of “ any Preferment in Church or State , who refused “ to take the same ;” and he would show how much he contemned those Votes. He went with the King to *York* ; was most solicitous , as hath been said , for the offer of Peace at *Nottingham* ; and was with him at *Edge-hill* ; and came and stayed with him at *Oxford* to the end of the War , taking all opportunities to advance all motions towards Peace ; and , as no Man was more punctual in performing his own duty , so no Man had more Melancholy apprehensions of the issue of the War ; which is all shall be said of him in this place , there being frequent occasions to mention him , in the continuance of this discourse.

The Earl of *Leicester* was a Man of great parts , very conversant in Books , and much addicted to the Mathematics ; and though he had been a Soldier , and Commanded a Regiment , in the Service of the States of the United - Provinces , and was afterwards employed in several Embassies , as in *Denmark* , and in *France* , was in truth rather a Speculative , than a Practical Man ; and expected a greater Certitude in the consultation of business , than the business of this world is capable of : which

Of the Earl of
Leicester.

B O O K VI. temper proved very inconvenient to him through the course of his Life. He was, after the death of the Earl of *Strafford*, by the concurrent kindness and esteem both of King and Queen, called from his Embassy in *France*, to be Lieutenant of the Kingdom of *Ireland*; and, in a very short time after, unhappily lost that kindness and esteem: And being, about the time of the King's coming to *Oxford*, ready to Embark at *Chester*, for the execution of his Charge, he was required to attend his Majesty, for farther Instructions, at *Oxford*; where he remained; and though he was of the Council, and sometimes present, he desired not to have any part in the business; and lay under many reproaches and jealousies, which he deserved not: For he was a Man of Honor, and Fidelity to the King, and his greatest misfortunes proceeded from the staggering, and irresolution in his Nature.

Of the Earl of
Bristol.

The Earl of *Bristol* was a Man of a grave aspect, of a presence that drew respect, and of long experience in Affairs of great Importance. He had been, by the extraordinary favor of King *James* to his Person (for he was a very handsome Man) and his parts, which were naturally great, and had been improved by good Education at home and abroad, sent Ambassador into *Spain*, before he was thirty years of Age; and afterwards in several other Embassies; and at last, again into *Spain*; where he Treated, and Concluded the Marriage between the Prince of *Wales* and that Infanta; which was afterwards dissolved. He was by King *James* made of the Privy-Council, Vice-Chamberlain of the House-

hold, an Earl, and a Gentleman of the Bed Chamber to the Prince, and was then crushed by the power of the Duke of *Buckingham*, and the prejudice the Prince himself had contracted against him, during his Highness's being in *Spain*; upon which he was imprisoned upon his return; and after the Duke's death, the King retained so strict a Memory of all that Duke's Friendships and Displeasures, that the Earl of *Bristol* could never recover any admission to Court; but lived in the Country, in ease, and plenty in his Fortune, and in great Reputation with all who had not an implicit Reverence for the Court; and before, and in the beginning of the Parliament, appeared in the head of all the discontented Party; but quickly left them, when they entered upon their unwarrantable Violences, and grew so much into their disfavor, that after the King was gone to *York*, upon some expressions he used in the House of Peers in Debate, they Committed him to the Tower; from whence being released, in two or three days, he made haste to *York* to the King; who had before restored him to his place in the Council, and the Bed-Chamber. He was with him at *Edge-hill*, and came with him from thence to *Oxford*; and, at the end of the War, went into *France*; where he died; that Party having so great an Animosity against him, that they would not suffer him to live in *England*, nor to compound for his Estate, as they suffered others to do, who had done them more hurt. Though he was a Man of great parts, and a Wise Man, yet he had been for the most part single, and by himself, in business; which

B O O K he managed with good sufficiency; and had lived
VI. little in comfort, so that in Council he was passionate, and supercilious, and did not bear contradiction without much passion, and was too voluminous in discourse; so that he was not considered there with much respect; to the lessening whereof no Man contributed more than his Son, the Lord *Digby*; who shortly after came to sit there as Secretary of State, and had not that reverence for his Father's Wisdom, which his great experience deserved, though he failed not in his Piety towards him.

Of the Earl of
 New-Castle.

The Earl of *New-Castle* was a Person well bred, and of a full and plentiful Fortune; and had been chosen by the King to be Governor to the Prince of *Wales*, and made of the Council, and resigned that Office of Governor to the Marquis of *Hertford*, for the reasons which have been mentioned. He was not at *Oxford*, but remained at *New-Castle*, with the King's Commission to be General of those Parts; being a Man of great Courage, and signal Fidelity to the Crown, of whom there will be more occasion hereafter to enlarge.

Of the Earl of
 Berkshire and
 others.

The Earl of *Berkshire* was of the Council, but not yet at *Oxford*; having been, about, or before the setting up of the Standard, taken Prisoner in *Oxfordshire*, and committed to the Tower, upon an imagination that he had some purpose to have executed the Commission of Array in that County; but they afterwards set him at Liberty, as a Man that could do them no harm any where; and then he came to *Oxford*, with the Title, and pretences of a Man, who had been imprisoned for the King, and thereby

merited more, than his Majesty had to give. His Affection for the Crown was good, but his Interest little.

The Lord *Dunsmore* had been made a Privy-Counsellor, after so many, who had deserved worse, had been called thither; and was ready to do whatever he was directed; he was a Man of a rough, and tempestuous Nature, violent in pursuing what he wished, without judgment, or temper to know the way of bringing it to pass; however, he had some kind of power with froward and discontented Men; at least he had credit to make them more indisposed. But his greatest Reputation was, that the Earl of *Southampton* Married his Daughter, a beautiful, and a worthy Lady.

The Lord *Seymour*, being Brother to the Marquis of *Hertford*, was a Man of Interest, and Reputation; he had been always very popular in the Country; where he had lived out of the grace of the Court; and his parts, and judgment, were best in those things which concerned the good husbandry, and the Common Administration of Justice to the People. In the beginning of the Parliament, he served as Knight of the Shire for *Wiltshire*, where he resided; and behaving himself with less violence in the House of Commons, than many of his old Friends did, and having a great friendship for the Earl of *Strafford*, he was, by His interposition, called to the House of Peers; where he carried himself very well in all things relating to the Crown; and when the King went to *York*, he left the Parliament, and followed his Majesty, and remained firm in his fidelity.

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The Lord *Savil* was likewise of the Council, being first Controller, and then Treasurer of the Household, in recompence of his discovery of all the Treasons, and Conspiracies, after they had taken effect, and could not be punished. He was a Man of an Ambitious and Restless Nature; of Parts and Wit enough; but, in his disposition, and inclination, so False, that he could never be believed, or depended upon. His particular Malice to the Earl of *Strafford*, which he had sucked in with his Milk (there having always been an immortal Feud between the Families; and the Earl had shrewdly overborne his Father) had engaged him with all Persons who were willing, and like to be able, to do Him mischief. And so, having opportunity when the King was at the *Berks*, and made the first unhappy Pacification, to enter into conversation, and acquaintance, with those who were then employed as Commissioners from the *Scots*, there was a secret Intelligence entered into between them from that time; and he was a principal Instrument to engage that Nation, to march into *England* with an Army; which they did the next year after. To which purpose, he sent them a Letter, signed with the Names of several of the *English* Nobility, inviting them to enter the Kingdom, and making great promises of Assistance; which Names were forged by himself, without the privity of those who were named. And when all this mischief was brought to pass, and he found his credit in the Parliament not so great as other Men's, he insinuated himself into credit with some body, who brought him to the
King

King or Queen, to whom he confessed all he had done to bring in the *Scots*, and Who had conspired with him, and all the secrets he knew, with a thousand Protestations "to repair all by future Loyalty, " and Service;" for which he was promised a White Staff, which the King had then resolved to take from Sir *Henry Vane*, who held it with the Secretary's Office; which he had accordingly; though all his discovery was of no other use, than that the King knew many had been False, whom he could not punish; and some, whom he could not suspect. When the King came to *York*, where this Lord's Fortune, and Interest lay, his Reputation was so low, that the Gentlemen of Interest, who wished well to the King's Service, would not communicate with him; and, after the King's remove from thence, the Earl of *New-Castle* found cause to have such a jealousy of him, that he thought it necessary to imprison him; and afterwards sent him to *Oxford*; where he so well purged himself, that he was again restored to his Office. But in the end he behaved himself so ill, that the King put him again out of his place, and committed him to Prison, and never after admitted him to his presence; nor would any Man of Quality ever after keep any correspondence with him.

Of the Lord *Falkland*, and Sir *John Colepepper*, there hath been so much said before, that there is no occasion to add to it in this place. There will be reason too soon to lament the unhappy death of the former; and the latter, who never failed in his

Fidelity, will be very often mentioned throughout the ensuing discourse.

Secretary *Nicholas* was a very honest, and industrious Man, and always versed in business; which few of the other were, or had been. After some time spent in the University of *Oxford*, and then in the Middle Temple, he lived some years in *France*; and was afterwards Secretary to the Lord *Zouch*, who was a Privy-Counsellor, and Warden of the Cinque-Ports; and thereby he understood all that Jurisdiction, which is very great, and exclusive to the Admiral. And when that Lord, many years after, surrendered that Office to the King, to the end that it might be conferred upon the Duke of *Buckingham*, his Secretary was likewise preferred with the Office; and so, in a short time, became Secretary of the Admiralty, as well as of the Cinque-Ports; and was entirely trusted, and esteemed by that great Favorite. After his death, he continued in the same place, whilst the Office was in Commission, and was then made Clerk of the Council, from whence the King called him to be Secretary of State, after Secretary *Windebank* fled the Kingdom; upon his Majesty's own observation of his Virtue, and Fidelity, and without any other recommendation: and he was in truth, throughout his whole Life, a Person of very good Reputation, and of singular Integrity.

There remain only two of the Council then at *Oxford*, who are not yet named. Sir *John Banks*, who had been Attorney General, and was then Chief Justice of the Common-Pleas, a Grave, and a Learned

Man in the Profession of the Law; and Sir *Peter Wyche*, who had been Ambassador at *Constantinople*; from whence he returned very little before the Troubles, and gratified Sir *Thomas Jermyn* very liberally for his White Staff, when the Court was very Low, and so was made a Privy Counsellor, and Controller of the Household. He was a very honest, plain Man; and died very shortly after the Treaty, and was succeeded by Sir *Christopher Hatton*, a Person of great Reputation at that time, which in few years he found a way to diminish.

Of those who were of the King's Council, and who stayed and acted with the Parliament, the Earl of *Northumberland* may well be reckoned the Chief, in respect of the Antiquity and Splendor of his Family, his great Fortune, and Estate, and the general Reputation he had among the greatest Men, and his great Interest, by being High-Admiral of *England*. Though he was of a Family, that had lain under frequent blemishes of want of Fidelity to the Crown, and his Father had been long a Prisoner in the Tower, under some suspicion of having some knowledge of the Gun-Powder-Treason; and after he was set at Liberty, by the mediation and credit of the Earl of *Carlisle*, who had, without, and against his consent, Married his Daughter, he continued, to his death, under such a restraint, that he had not liberty to live and reside upon his Northern Estate: Yet this Lord's Father was no sooner dead, than the King poured out his Favors upon him, in a wonderful measure: he begun with conferring Order of the Garter upon him, and shortly

Of those of the Privy-Counsellors who stayed with the Parliament. Of the Earl of Northumberland.

B O O K made him of his Privy-Council; when a great Fleet
VI. of Ships was prepared, by which the King meant that his Neighbour Princes should discern, that he intended to maintain, and preserve his Sovereignty at Sea, he sent the Earl of *Northumberland* Admiral of that Fleet, a much greater than the Crown had put to Sea, since the death of Queen *Elizabeth*, that he might breed him for that Service, before he gave him a more absolute Command. And after he had, in that Capacity, exercised himself a year or two, the King made him Lord-High-Admiral of *England*; which was such a quick succession of Bounties and Favors, as had rarely befallen any Man, who had not been attended with the Envy of a Favorite. He was, in all his deportment, a very great Man, and that which looked like Formality, was a Punctuality in preserving his dignity, from the invasion and intrusion of bold Men, which no Man of that Age so well preserved himself from. Though his Notions were not large or deep, yet his temper, and reservedness in discourse, and his reservedness in speaking, got him the Reputation of an Able, and a Wise Man; which he made evident in the excellent Government of his Family, where no Man was more absolutely obeyed; and no Man had ever fewer idle words to Answer for; and in debates of importance, he always expressed himself very pertinently. If he had thought the King as much above Him, as he thought Himself above other considerable Men, he would have been a good Subject; but the extreme undervaluing those, and not enough valuing the King, made him liable to

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the impressions, which they who approached him by those Addresses of Reverence, and Esteem, that usually insinuate into such Natures, made in him. So that after he was first prevailed upon, not to do that which in honor and gratitude he was obliged to (which is a very pestilent corruption) he was, with the more Facility, let to concur in what, in Duty and Fidelity, he ought not to have done, and which at first he never intended to have done. And so he concurred in all the Counsels which produced the Rebellion, and stayed with them to support it; which is as much, as is necessary to say of him in this place, since there will be often occasion hereafter to mention him, with some enlargement.

The Earl of *Pembroke* hath been enough mentioned in a better conjuncture of time, when his Virtues were thought greater than they were, and his Vices very little discerned. Yet, by what was then said, his Nature, and his Parts might be well enough understood, and as neither the One, nor the Other were improvable, so they were liable to be corrupted by any Assaults; his understanding being easy to be imposed upon, and his Nature being made up of very strong Passions. Whilst there was Tranquillity in the Kingdom, he enjoyed his full share in Pomp and Greatness; the largeness and plentifulness of his Fortune being attended with reverence, and dependance from the People where his Estate, and Interest lay, and where indeed he was a great Man; getting an affection and esteem from Persons who had no dependance upon him, by his magnificent Living, and discoursing highly of Justice, and of the Protestant

Of the Earl of
Pembroke.

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Religion; inveighing bitterly against Popery, and telling what he used to say to the King; and speaking frankly of the oversights of the Court, that he might not be thought a Slave to it. He had been bred, from his Cradle, in the Court; and had that perfection of a Courier, that as he was not wary enough in offending Men, so he was forward in acknowledging it, even to his Inferiors, and to impute it to his Passion, and ask pardon for it; which made him be thought a well natured Man. Besides, he had an Office which, at that time entitled him to the exercise of some Rudeness, and the good Order of the Court had some dependance upon his Incivilities.

There were very few great Persons in Authority, who were not frequently offended by him, by sharp and scandalous discourses, and invectives against them, behind their backs; for which they found it best to receive satisfaction by submissions, and professions, and protestations, which was a Coin he was plentifully supplied with for the payment of all those Debts; whilst the King retained only some kindness for him, without any great esteem of him. But, from the beginning of the Parliament, when he saw, and heard a People stout enough to inveigh against the King's Authority, and to fall upon those Persons, whom he had always more feared than loved; and found that there were two Armies in the Kingdom, and that the King had not the entire Command of either of them; when the Decrees of the Star-Chamber, and the Orders and Acts of the Council in all which he had concurred, were called in question, and like to be made penal to those, who would not

redeem their past Errors by future Service; his Fear, which was the Passion always predominant in him, above all his Choler and Rage, prevailed so far over him, that he gave himself up into the hands of the Lord *Say*, to dispose of him as He thought fit, till the King took the White Staff from him, and gave it to the Earl of *Essex*, as hath been related at large before.

From this time, he took himself to be absolved from all obligations, and dependance upon the Court, which he had lived too long in, to be willing to quit; and therefore the more closely adhered to Them by whose power he thought he might get thither again; and, for some time, entertained the hope of obtaining the other Superior White-Staff; which remained then in the King's hand, by the departure of the Earl of *Arundel* into the parts beyond the Seas. But when he saw that Staff given to the Duke of *Richmond*, who was then made Lord Steward of the Household, he gave over those weak imaginations, and concurred roundly in all the Lord *Say* proposed; and was so weak still, as to believe They never meant to Rebel against the King; or that the King could long subsist, without putting himself into Their hands. When They had any thing to do in the West, as the exercise of the Militia, or executing any other Ordinance, they sent him into the Country, and showed him to the People, under the Conduct of two or three Members of the House, in whom they could Confide; and he talked "of the King's evil Counsellors, who carried him from his Parliament; and "of the Malignants;" and against Scandalous Minis-

B O O K ters; whilst none of his old Friends came near him.

VI. And when they were resolved no longer to trust the Isle of *Wight* in the hands of the Earl of *Portland*, who had been long the King's Governor there, and had an absolute power over the Affection of that People, They preferred the poor Earl of *Pembroke* to it, by an Ordinance of Parliament; who kindly accepted it, as a Testimony of their Favor; and so got into actual Rebellion, which he never intended to do. It is pity to say more of him, and less could not be said to make him known.

Of the Earl of
Essex.

The Earl of *Essex* hath been enough mentioned before; his Nature, and his Understanding have been described; his former disobligations from the Court, and then his Introduction into it, and afterwards his being displaced from the Office, he held in it, have been set forth; and there will be occasion, hereafter, to renew the discourse of him; and therefore it shall suffice in this place, to say, that a weak Judgment, and some Vanity, and much Pride, will hurry a Man into as unwarrantable, and as violent Attempts, as the greatest, and most unlimited, and insatiable Ambition will do. He had no Ambition of Title, or Office, or Preferment, but only to be kindly looked upon, and kindly spoken to, and quietly to enjoy his own Fortune: and, without doubt, no Man in his Nature more abhorred Rebellion than He did, nor could He have been led into it by any open, or transparent Temptation, but by a thousand disguises and cozenages. His Pride supplied his want of Ambition, and he was angry to see any other Man more respected than himself, because he thought He deserved it more, and did better

requite it. For he was, in his Friendships, just, and constant; and would not have practised foully against those he took to be Enemies. No Man had credit enough with him, to corrupt him in point of Loyalty to the King, whilst he thought himself Wise enough to know, what Treason was. But the new Doctrine, and distinction of Allegiance, and of the King's power in and out of Parliament, and the new Notions of Ordinances, were too hard for him, and did really intoxicate his Understanding, and made him quit his own, to follow Theirs, who, he thought, wished as well, and judged better than himself. His Vanity disposed him to be his Excellency; and his Weakness, to believe that he should be the General in the Houses, as well as in the Field; and be able to govern their Counsels, and restrain their Passions, as well as to fight their Battles; and that, by this means, he should become the Preserver, and not the Destroyer of the King and Kingdom. With this ill grounded Confidence, he Launched out into that Sea, where he met with nothing but Rocks and Shelves. and from whence, he could never discover any safe Port to Harbour in.

The Earl of *Salisbury* had been born and bred in Court, and had the advantage of a descent from a Father, and a Grand-father, who had been very Wise Men, and great Ministers of State in the Eyes of *Christendom*; whose Wisdom and Virtues died with them, and their Children only inherited their Titles. He had been admitted of the Council to King *James*; from which time he continued so obsequious to the Court, that he never failed in overacting all that he was required to do. No act of power was ever

Of the Earl of
Salisbury.

B O O K proposed, which He did not advance, and execute
VI. His part with the utmost Rigor. No Man so great a Tyrant in his Country, or was less swayed by any motives of Justice or Honor. He was a Man of no words, except in Hunting, and Hawking. In matters of State, and Council, He always concurred in what was proposed for the King, and cancelled and repaired all those Transgressions, by concurring in all that was proposed against Him, as soon as any such Propositions were made. Yet when the King went to *York*, He likewise attended upon his Majesty; and, at that distance, seemed to have recovered some Courage, and concurred in all Counsels which were taken to undeceive the People, and to make the proceedings of the Parliament odious to all the world. But, on a sudden, he caused his Horses to attend him out of the Town, and having placed fresh ones at a distance, he fled back to *London*, with the expedition such Men use, when they are most affraid; and never after denied to do any thing that was required of him; and when the War was ended, and *Cromwell* had put down the House of Peers, he got himself to be chosen a Member of the House of Commons; and sat with them, as of their own Body; and was esteemed accordingly.

Of the Earl of
 Warwick.

The Earl of *Warwick* was of the King's Council too, but was not wondered at for leaving the King, whom he had never well served; nor did he look upon himself as obliged by that Honor, which, he knew, was conferred upon him in the crowd of those whom his Majesty had no esteem of, or ever proposed to Trust; so His business was to join with those to whom he owed his Promotion. He was a Man of

a pleasant and Companiable Wit, and Conversation; of an universal Jollity; and such a licence in his Words, and in his Actions, that a Man of less Virtue could not be found out: so that one might reasonably have believed, that a Man so qualified, would not have been able to have contributed much to the overthrow of a Nation, and Kingdom. But with all these faults, he had great Authority and Credit with that People, who, in the beginning of the Troubles, did all the mischief; and by opening his doors, and making his House the Rendezvous of all the Silenced Ministers, in the time when there was Authority to Silence them, and spending a good part of his Estate, of which he was very prodigal, upon them, and by being present with them at their Devotions, and making himself merry With them, and At them, which they dispensed with, He became the head of That Party; and got the Style of a Godly Man. When the King revoked the Earl of *Northumberland's* Commission of Admiral, He presently accepted the Office from the Parliament; and never quitted their Service; and when *Cromwell* disbanded that Parliament, he betook himself to the Protector; Married his Heir to his Daughter; and lived in so entire a Confidence, and Friendship with him, that when the Protector died, he exceedingly lamented him. He left his Estate, which before was Subject to a vast debt, more improved and repaired, than any Man who Trafficked in that desperate Commodity of Rebellion:

The Earl of *Holland* had grown up under the shadow of the Court, and had been too long a Coun-
seller before, and contributed too much to the Coun-
Of the Earl of
Holland.

BOOK VI. fels which had most prejudiced the Crown, to have declined waiting upon it, when it needed Attendance. But he chose to stay with the Parliament; and there hath been enough said of him before, and more must be said hereafter. And therefore it shall suffice Now, to say, that there was a very froward Fate attended all, or most of the Posterity of that Bed, from whence He and his Brother of *Warwick* had their original; though He, and some others among them, had many very good Parts, and excellent Endowments.

Of the Earl of
Manchester.

The Earl of *Manchester*, of the whole Cabal, was, in a thousand respects, most unfit for the Company he kept. He was of a gentle, and a generous Nature; civilly bred; had Reverence and Affection for the Person of the King, upon whom he had attended in *Spain*; loved his Country with too unskillful a tenderness; and was of so excellent a Temper, and Disposition, that the barbarous times, and the rough parts he was forced to act in them, did not wipe out, or much deface those Marks: insomuch as he was never guilty of any rudeness towards those he was obliged to oppress, but performed always as good Offices towards his old Friends, and all other Persons, as the iniquity of the time, and the nature of the Employment he was in, would permit him to do; which kind of humanity could be imputed to very few.

He was at last dismissed, and removed from any Trust, for no other reason, but because he was not Wicked enough. He Married first into the Family of the Duke of *Buckingham*, and, by His Favor, and Interest, was called to the House of Peers in

the life of his Father; and made Baron of *Kimbolton*, though he was commonly treated and known by the Name of the Lord *Mandevil*; and was as much addicted to the service of the Court as he ought to be. But the death of his Lady, and the Murder of that great Favorite, his second Marriage with the Daughter of the Earl of *Warwick*, and the very narrow, and restrained maintenance, which he received from his Father, and which would in no degree defray the expenses of the Court, forced him too soon to retire to a Country-Life; and totally to abandon both the Court, and *London*; whither he came very seldom in many years. And in this retirement, the discountenance which his Father underwent at Court, the conversation of that Family into which he was Married, the bewitching Popularity, which flowed upon him with a wonderful torrent, and the want of those Guards which a good Education should have supplied him with, by the clear Notion of the Foundation of the Ecclesiastical, as well as the Civil Government, made a great impression upon his Understanding (for his Nature was never corrupted, but remained still in it's Integrity) and made him believe that the Court was inclined to hurt, and even to destroy the Country; and from particular instances to make general, and dangerous conclusions. They who had been always Enemies to the Church prevailed with him to lessen his reverence for it, and having not been well instructed to defend it, he yielded too easily to those who confidently assaulted it; and thought it had great errors, which were necessary to be reformed; and

B O O K that all means are lawful to compass that which is
VI. necessary. Whereas the true Logic is, that the thing desired is not necessary, if the ways are unlawful which are proposed to bring it to pass. No Man was courted with more application, by Persons of all conditions, and qualities; and his Person was not less acceptable to those of steady and uncorrupted Principles, than to those of depraved inclinations. And in the end, even his Piety administered some excuse to him; for his Father's infirmities, and transgressions, had so far exposed him to the inquisition of Justice, that the Son found it necessary to procure the Assistance, and Protection of those who were strong enough to violate Justice itself; and so he adhered to those who were best able to defend his Father's Honor, and thereby to secure his own Fortune; and concurred with them in their most violent designs, and gave reputation to them. And the Court as unskilfully took an occasion too soon to make him desperate, by accusing him of High-Treason, when (though he might be guilty enough) he was, without doubt, in his Intentions, at least, as innocent as any of the leading Men.

It is some Evidence, that God Almighty saw his heart was not so malicious as the rest, that he preserved Him to the end of the confusion; when he appeared as glad of the King's Restoration, and had heartily wished it long before, and very few, who had a hand in the contrivance of the Rebellion, gave so manifest tokens of Repentance as He did; and having, for many years, undergone the jealousy, and hatred of *Cromwell*, as one who abominated

the Murder of the King, and all the Barbarous proceedings against the Lives of Men in cold Blood; the King upon his return received him into grace and favor, which he never after forfeited by any unduriful behaviour.

The last of those Counsellors which were made after the faction prevailed in Parliament, who were all made to advance an Accommodation, and who adhered to the Parliament, was the Lord Say; a Man, who had the deepest hand in the original Contrivance of all the Calamities which beset this unhappy Kingdom, though he had not the least thought of dissolving the Monarchy, and less of levelling the Ranks, and Distinctions of Men. For no Man valued himself more upon his Title, or had more Ambition to make it greater, and to raise his Fortune, which was but moderate for his Title. He was of a proud, morose, and sullen Nature; conversed much with Books, having been bred a Scholar, and (though nobly born) a Fellow of New-College in *Oxford*; to which he claimed a right, by the Alliance he pretended to have from *William of Wyckham*, the Founder; which he made good by a far fetched Pedigree, through so many hundred years, half the time whereof extinguishes all relation of kindred. However upon that pretence, that College hath been seldom without one of that Lord's Family. His parts were not quick, but so much above many of his own Rank, that he had always great Credit, and Authority in Parliament; and the more, for taking all opportunities to oppose the Court; and He had, with his Milk, sucked in an

B O O K
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Of the Lord
Say.

B O O K implacable Malice against the Government of the
VI. Church. When the Duke of *Buckingham* proposed to himself, after his return with the Prince from *Spain*, to make himself Popular, by breaking that match, and to be gracious with the Parliament, as for a short time he was, he resolved to embrace the Friendship of the Lord *Say*; who was as solicitous to climb by that Ladder. But the Duke quickly found him of too Imperious, and Pedantical a Spirit, and to affect too dangerous mutations; and so cast him off; and from that time he gave over any pursuit in Court, and lived narrowly in the Country; having conversation with very few, but such who had great Malignity against the Church and State, and fomented their inclinations, and gave them instructions how to behave themselves with caution, and to do their business with most security; and was in truth the Pilot, that Steered all those Vessels which were freighted with Sedition to destroy the Government.

He found always some way to make professions of duty to the King, and made several undertakings to do great Services, which he could not, or would not, make good; and made haste to possess himself of any Preferment he could compass, whilst his Friends were content to attend a more proper conjuncture. So he got the Mastership of the Wards shortly after the beginning of the Parliament, and was as solicitous to be Treasurer after the death of the Earl of *Bedford*; and, if he could have satisfied his Rancor in any degree against the Church, he would have been ready to have carried the Pre-rogative

rogative as high as ever it was. When he thought there was mischief enough done, he would have stopped the current, and have diverted farther Fury; but he then found he had only Authority and Credit to do hurt; none to heal the wounds he had given; and fell into as much Contempt with those whom he had led, as he was with those whom he had undone.

The last of the Counsellors who stayed with the Parliament, was Sir *Henry Vane*; who had so much excuse for it, that being thrown out of Court, he had no whither else to go; and promised himself to be much made of by Them, for whose sakes only he had brought that infamy upon himself. He was of very ordinary parts by Nature, and had not cultivated them at all by Art; for he was Illiterate. But being of a stirring and boisterous disposition, very industrious, and very bold, he still wrought himself into some employment. He had been acquainted with the vicissitudes of Court, and had undergone some severe Mortification, by the disfavor of the Duke of *Buckingham*, in the beginning of the King's Reign. But the Duke was no sooner dead (which made it believed that he had made his Peace in his life-time, for the King was not, in a long time after, reconciled to any Man who was eminently in the Duke's disfavor) but he was again brought into the Court, and made a Counsellor, and Controller of the Household; which place he became well, and was fit for; and if he had never taken other preferment, he might probably have continued a good Subject. For he had not inclination to change, and in his judgment, he had liked the Government

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Of Sir Henry
Vane the
elder.

BOOK VI. both of Church, and State; and only desired to raise his Fortune, which was not great, and which he found many ways to improve. And he was wont to say, " that he never had desired other preferment; " and believed, that Marquis *Hamilton* (with whom " he had never kept fair quarter) when he first proposed to him to be Secretary of State, did it to " affront him; well knowing his want of Ability for " the discharge of that Office." But, without doubt, as the fatal preferring him to that place was of unspeakable prejudice to the King, so his receiving it was to his own destruction. His malice to the Earl of *Strafford* (who had unwisely provoked him, wantonly, and out of contempt) transported him to all imaginable thoughts of Revenge; which is a Guest, that naturally disquiets, and tortures those who entertain it, with all the perplexities they contrive for others; and That disposed him to sacrifice his Honor and Faith, and his Master's Interest, that he might ruin the Earl, and was buried Himself in the same ruin; for which being justly chastised by the King, and turned out of his Service, he was left to his own despair; and, though he concurred in all the malicious designs against the King, and against the Church, he grew into the hatred, and contempt, of those who had made most use of him; and died in universal reproach, and not contemned more by any of his Enemies, than by his own Son; who had been his principal Conductor to Destruction.

We now pass to the Transactions in the Treaty itself, which was in the beginning of the year 1643.

END OF THE FIFTH VOLUME.

THE
HISTORY
OF THE
REBELLION AND CIVIL WARS
IN
ENGLAND,

Begun in the Year 1641.

With the precedent Passages, and Actions, that contributed thereunto, and the happy End, and Conclusion thereof by the KING's blessed RESTORATION, and RETURN upon the 29th of May, in the Year 1660.

Written by the Right Honorable

EDWARD Earl of CLARENDON,

Late Lord High-Chancellor of England, Privy-Counsellor
in the Reigns of King CHARLES the First and the Second.

Κτῆμα ἐς ἀλήθειαν. *Thucyd.*

Ne quid Falsi dicere audeat, ne quid Veri non audeat. Cicero.

V O L. VI.

BASIL:

Printed and sold by J. J. TOURNEISEN.

M D C C X C V I I I.



THE

History of the Rebellion, etc.

B O O K VII.

Mic. III. 11.

The heads thereof judge for reward, and the Priests thereof teach for hire, and the Prophets thereof divine for money: yet will they lean upon the Lord, and say, Is not the Lord among us? none evil can come upon us.

Mic. VII. 4.

The best of them is as a brier: the most upright is sharper than a thorn-hedge: the day of thy watchmen, and thy visitation cometh; now shall be their perplexity.

WHEN the Treaty was first consented to by the two Houses, they ordered, that it should be upon the first Proposition made by his Majesty, and the first Proposition made by Themselves, and that those should be first concluded on, before they proceeded to Treat upon any of the other Propositions. So that the Committee, in the first place, applied themselves to his Majesty, upon his own first Proposition, which was, "That his own Revenue, "Magazines, Towns, Forts, and Ships, which "had been taken, or kept from him by Force, should

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The Sum of
the demands
and concess-
ions of both
sides upon the
first Article
of the Treaty.

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“ be forthwith restored to him.” To which the Committee answered, “ That the two Houses had made use of his Majesty’s own Revenue, but in a very small proportion, which in a good part had been employed in the maintenance of his Children, according to the allowance established by himself. And the Houses would satisfy what should remain due to his Majesty of those Sums, which they had received; and would leave the same to him for the time to come. And they desired likewise, that his Majesty would restore, what had been taken for his use, upon any of the Bills assigned to other purposes by several Acts of Parliament, or out of the provision made for the War of *Ireland*: That all the Arms, and Ammunition taken out of his Magazines should be delivered into his Stores, and whatsoever should be wanting they would supply in kind, according to the Proportions they had received: but they proposed, the Persons, to whose charge those public Magazines should be committed, being nominated by his Majesty, might be such, as the two Houses of Parliament might Confide in, and that his Majesty would restore all such Arms and Ammunition, as had been taken for his use, from the several Counties, Cities, and Towns.

“ That the two Houses would remove the Garrisons out of all Towns, and Forts in their hands, wherein there were no Garrisons before these Troubles, and slight all Fortifications made since that time and those Towns, and Forts, to continue in the same condition they were in before;

“ and that those Garrisons should not be renewed,
 “ or the Fortifications repaired without consent of
 “ his Majesty, and both Houses of Parliament.
 “ That the Towns, and Forts, which were within
 “ the jurisdiction of the Cinque - Ports, should be
 “ delivered into the hands of such a Noble Person,
 “ as the King should appoint to be Warden of the
 “ Cinque - Ports, being such a one as they should
 “ Confide in. That *Portsmouth* should be reduced to
 “ the number of the Garrison, as was at that time
 “ when the Lords and Commons undertook the cus-
 “ tody of it; and that all other Forts, Castles, and
 “ Towns, in which Garrisons had been kept, and
 “ had been since the beginning of these Troubles
 “ taken into Their care, and custody, should be
 “ reduced to the same establishment, they had in
 “ the year 1636, and should be so continued; and
 “ that all those Towns, Forts, and Castles, should
 “ be delivered up into the hands of such Persons of
 “ Quality, and Trust, to be likewise nominated
 “ by his Majesty, as the two Houses should Confide
 “ in. That the Warden of the Cinque Ports, and all
 “ Governors, and Commanders of Towns, Castles,
 “ and Forts, should keep the same Towns, Castles,
 “ and Forts, respectively, for the Service of his Ma-
 “ jesty, and the safety of the Kingdom; and that
 “ they should not admit into them any Foreign
 “ Forces, or any other Forces raised without his
 “ Majesty’s Authority, and Consent of the two
 “ Houses of Parliament; and they should use their
 “ utmost endeavour, to suppress all Forces what-
 “ soever raised without such Authority, and

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“ Consent; and they should seize all Arms, and
“ Ammunition, provided for any such Forces.

“ They likewise proposed to the King that he
“ would remove the Garrison out of *New-Castle*, and
“ all other Towns, Castles, and Forts, where any
“ Garrisons had been placed by him since these
“ Troubles; and that the Fortifications might be
“ likewise slighted, and the Towns and Forts left in
“ such state as they were in the year 1636; and that
“ all other Towns and Castles in his hands, wherein
“ there had been formerly Garrisons, might be com-
“ mitted to such Persons nominated by him, as the
“ Houses should Confide in, and under such Instruc-
“ tions as were formerly mentioned; and that the
“ new Garrisons should not be renewed, or the For-
“ tifications repaired, without the consent of the
“ King and both Houses of Parliament. That the
“ Ships should be delivered into the charge of such
“ a Noble Person, as the King should nominate to
“ be Lord High - Admiral of *England*, and the two
“ Houses Confide in; who should receive that
“ Office by Letters - Patent, *quam diu se bene gesserit*,
“ and should have power to nominate, and appoint
“ all Subordinate Commanders and Officers, and
“ have all other powers appertaining to the Office
“ of High Admiral; which Ships he should employ
“ for the defence of the Kingdom, against all Foreign
“ Forces whatsoever, and for the safeguard of Mer-
“ chants, securing of Trade, and the guarding of
“ *Ireland*, and the intercepting of all supplies to be
“ carried to the Rebels; and should use his utmost en-
“ deavours to suppress all Forces, which should be

“ raised by any Person without his Majesty’s Autho-
 “ rity, and Consent of the Lords and Commons in
 “ Parliament, and should seize all Arms, and Am-
 “ munition, provided for supply of any such Forces.

To this Answer, by which they required at least to go whole Sharers with him in his Sovereignty, the King replied, “ That he knew not what pro-
 “ portion of his Revenue had been made use of by
 “ his two Houses, but he had reason to believe, if
 “ much of it had not been used, very much remained
 “ still in their hands; his whole Revenue being so
 “ stopped, and seized on, by the orders of one or
 “ both Houses, even to the taking of his Money
 “ out of his Exchequer, and Mint, and Bonds
 “ (forced from his Cofferer’s Clerk) for the Provisions
 “ of his Household; that very little had come to his
 “ use for his own support, but he would be well
 “ contented to allow whatsoever had been employed
 “ in the maintenance of his Children, and to receive
 “ the Arrears due to himself, and to be sure of his
 “ own for the future. He was likewise willing to
 “ restore all Monies taken for his use, by any Au-
 “ thority from him, upon any Bills assigned to other
 “ purposes, being assured he had received very little
 “ or nothing that way: and he expected likewise,
 “ that satisfaction should be made by them for all
 “ those several vast Sums, received, and diverted
 “ to other purposes, by orders of one or both Houses,
 “ which ought to have been paid by the Act of Paci-
 “ fication to his Subjects of *Scotland*, or employed
 “ for the discharge of the debts of the Kingdom; or,
 “ by other Acts of Parliament, for the relief of his

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“ poor Protestant Subjects in *Ireland*. For what concerned his Magazines, he was content that all the Arms, and Ammunition, taken out of his Magazines, which did remain in the hands of both Houses, or of Persons employed by them, should be, as soon as the Treaty was concluded, delivered into the Tower of *London*; and that whatsoever should be wanting of the Proportions taken by them; should be supplied by them, with all convenient speed in kind; which, he said, should be committed to, and continued in, the Custody of the sworn Officers, to whose places the same belonged: And if any of those Officers had already forfeited, or hereafter should forfeit that Trust, by any misdemeanours, his Majesty would by no means defend them from the Justice of the Law. That he always intended to restore such Arms, and Ammunition, which he had been compelled to take from any Persons, and Places, when his own had been taken from him; and would make them recompence as soon as his own Stores were restored to him.

“ To whatsoever they proposed for the slighting all Fortifications, and reducing all Garrisons, which had been made since the beginning of the Troubles, and leaving them in the State they were before, the King fully, and absolutely consented; and that the old Castles, and Garrisons, should be reduced to their Ancient proportion, and establishment; but for the Governors, and Commanders of them, he said, that the Cinque-Ports were already in the Custody of

“ a Noble Person, against whom he knew no just
 “ exception, and who had such a legal interest
 “ therein, that he could not, with Justice, remove
 “ him from it, until some sufficient cause were made
 “ appear to him: But he was very willing, if he
 “ should at any time be found guilty of any thing
 “ that might make him unworthy of that Trust,
 “ that he might be proceeded against according to
 “ the Rules of Justice. That the Government of the
 “ Town of *Portsmouth*, and all other Forts, Castles,
 “ and Towns, as were formerly kept by Garrisons,
 “ should be put into the hands of such Persons,
 “ against whom no just exceptions could be made;
 “ all of them being, before these Troubles, by
 “ Letters Patents granted to several Persons, against
 “ any of whom he knew not any exceptions, who
 “ should be removed if just cause should be given
 “ for the same. The Warden of the Cinque-Ports,
 “ and all other Governors, and Commanders of the
 “ Towns, and Castles, should keep their Charges,
 “ as by the Law they ought to do, and For the
 “ King's service, and safety of the Kingdom; and
 “ they should not admit into any of them Foreign
 “ Forces, or other Forces raised, or brought into
 “ them contrary to the Law; but should use their
 “ utmost endeavours to suppress such Forces, and
 “ should seize all Arms, and Ammunition, which
 “ by the Laws, and Statutes of the Kingdom, they
 “ ought to seize.

To that part which concerned the Ships, the King
 told them, “ that he expected his own Ships should
 “ be delivered to him, as by the Law they ought

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“ to be; and that when he should think fit to nominate a Lord High-Admiral of *England*, it should be such a Person against whom no just exception could be made; and if any should be, he would always leave him to his due Trial, and Examination; and he would grant his Office to him by such Letters - Patent, as had been used. In the mean time he would govern the Admiralty by Commission, as had been in all times accustomed; and whatsoever Ships should be sent out by Him, or his Authority, should be employed for the defence of the Kingdom against all Foreign Forces whatsoever, for the Safeguard of Merchants, Securing of Trade, Guarding of *Ireland*, and the Intercepting of all Supplies to be carried to the Rebels; and they should use their utmost endeavours to suppress all Forces, which should be raised, by any Person whatsoever, against the Laws and Statutes of the Kingdom, and to seize all Arms and Ammunition provided for the supply of any such Forces.

It is evident to all Men where the difference now lay between them, being whether the King would reserve the disposal of those Offices and Places of Trust to Himself, which all Kings had enjoyed, and was indeed a part of his Regality, or whether he would be content with such a Nomination, as, being to pass, and depend upon their approbation, no Man should ever be admitted to them, who was nominated by Him. The Committee, upon his Majesty's Answer, desired to know, “ whether he did intend, “ that both Houses should express Their confidence

“ of the Persons, to whose trust those places were
 “ to be committed; for that they were directed by
 “ their Instructions, that, if his Majesty was pleased
 “ to assent thereunto, and to nominate Persons of
 “ Quality to receive the charge of them, that they
 “ should certify it to both Houses of Parliament, that
 “ thereupon they might express their confidence in
 “ those Persons, or humbly desire his Majesty to
 “ name others, none of which Persons to be re-
 “ moved during three years next ensuing, without
 “ just cause to be approved by both Houses; and if
 “ any should be so removed, or die within that
 “ space, the Persons, to be put in their places, to
 “ be such, as the two Houses should Confide in.”

The King answered, “ that He did not intend, that
 “ the Houses should express Their confidence of the
 “ Persons, to whose trusts those places should be
 “ committed, but only that they should have liberty,
 “ upon any just exception, to proceed against any
 “ such Persons according to Law; his Majesty
 “ being resolved not to Protect them against the
 “ public Justice. When any of the places should be
 “ void, he well knew the Nomination, and free
 “ Election of those, who should succeed, to be a
 “ right belonging to, and inherent in his Majesty;
 “ and having been enjoyed by all his Royal Pro-
 “ genitors, he could not believe his well affected
 “ Subjects desired to limit him in that Right; and
 “ desired they would be satisfied with this Answer,
 “ or give him any reasons to alter his Resolution,
 “ and he would comply with them.

They told him, “ there could be no good and

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“ firm Peace hoped for, if there were not a cure
“ found out for the Fears and Jealousies; and they
“ knew none sure, but ‘This which they had pro-
“ posed.” The King replied, “that he rather ex-
“ pected reasons grounded upon Law, to have
“ showed him, by the Law, that he had not that
“ Right he pretended, or that they had a Right Su-
“ perior to His, in what was now in question; or
“ that they would have showed him some legal
“ reason, why the Persons trusted by him were in-
“ capable of such a trust; than that they would only
“ have insisted upon Fears, and Jealousies, of which
“ as he knew no ground, so he must be ignorant of
“ the Cure. That the Argument they used might
“ extend to the depriving him of, or at least sharing
“ with him in, all his just Regal Power; since
“ Power, as well as Forces, might be the object
“ of Fears and Jealousies, and there would be always
“ a Power left to hurt, whilst there was any left
“ to protect and defend.” He told them, “if he had
“ as much inclination, as he had more right, to
“ Fears and Jealousies, he might with more reason
“ have insisted upon an addition of Power, as a
“ Security to enable him to keep his Forts, when
“ he had them; since it appeared it was not so great,
“ but that they had been able to take them from him,
“ than they to make any difficulty to restore
“ them to him in the same case they were before.
“ But, he said, as he was himself content with, so,
“ he took God to Witness, his greatest desire was,
“ to observe always and maintain the Law of the
“ Land; and expected the same from his Subjects;

“ and believed the mutual observance of that Rule,
 “ and neither of them to fear what the Law feared
 “ not, to be, on both parts, a better Cure for that
 “ dangerous disease of Fears and Jealousies, and a
 “ better means to establish a happy and perpetual
 “ Peace, than for him to divest himself of those trusts,
 “ which the Law of the Land had settled in the
 “ Crown alone, to preserve the Power, and Dig-
 “ nity of the Prince, for the better Protection of
 “ the Subject, and of the Law, and to avoid those
 “ dangerous distractions, which the Interest of any
 “ Sharers with him would have infallibly produced.”

The Committee neither offered to Answer his Ma-
 jesty's reasons, nor to oppose other reasons to weigh
 against them; but only said, “ That they were
 “ commanded by their Instructions, to insist upon
 “ the desires of both Houses formerly expressed.”
 To which the King made no other Answer, “ than
 “ that he conceived it all the Justice in the world for
 “ him to insist, that what was by Law his own, and
 “ had been contrary to Law taken from him, should
 “ be fully restored to him, without conditioning to
 “ impose any new limitations upon Him, or his Minis-
 “ ters, which were not formerly required from them
 “ by the Law; and he thought it most unreasonable,
 “ to be pressed to diminish his own just Rights Him-
 “ self, because Others had violated and usurped
 “ them.” This was the Sum of what passed in the
 Treaty upon that Proposition.

To the first Proposition of the two Houses, “ That
 “ his Majesty would be pleased to disband his
 “ Armies, as They likewise would be ready to

B O O K VII. “ disband all their Forces, which they had raised, and that he would be pleased to return to his Parliament:” The King Answered, “ that he was as ready and willing that all Armies should be disbanded, as any Person whatsoever; and conceived the best way to it, would be a happy and speedy conclusion of the present Treaty; which, if both Houses would contribute as much as He would do to it, would be suddenly effected. And as he desired nothing more than to be with his two Houses, so he would repair thither as soon as he could possibly do it with his Honor, and Safety.”

The Committee asked him, “ if by a happy and speedy conclusion of the present Treaty, he intended a conclusion upon the two first Propositions, or a conclusion of the Treaty in all the Propositions of both parts.” The King, who well knew it would be very ungracious to deny the disbanding of the Armies, till all the Propositions were agreed, some whereof would require much time, answered, “ that he intended such a conclusion of, or in the Treaty, as there might be a clear evidence to Himself, and his Subjects, of a future Peace, and no ground left for the continuance, or growth of those bloody Dissensions; which, he doubted not might be obtained, if both Houses would consent that the Treaty should proceed without farther interruption, or limitation of days.” They asked him, “ What he intended should be a clear evidence to him, and his good Subjects, of a future Peace, and no ground left for the continuance, and growth of those bloody Dissensions? His Majesty told

“ them, if the conclusion of the present Treaty upon
“ his first Proposition, and the first Proposition of
“ both Houses, should be so full, and perfectly
“ made, that the Law of the Land might have a full,
“ free, and uninterrupted course, for the defence,
“ and preservation of the Rights of his Majesty, and
“ of Themselves, and the rest of his Subjects, there
“ would be thence a clear evidence to Him, and all
“ Men, of a future Peace; and it would be such a
“ conclusion as he intended, never meaning that
“ both Armies should remain undischarged until the
“ Propositions on both sides were fully concluded.”

To the other clause of their own Proposition concerning the King's return to the Parliament, they said, “ they had no Instructions to treat upon it;” which the King much wondered at; and finding that they had no other Authority, to Treat, or Debate what was necessary to be done in order to disbanding, but only to press him to appoint a day for the actual disbanding; and that the Forces in the North, where He had a great Army, and They had none, might be first disbanded, he endeavoured to draw them to some Propositions upon his return to the Parliament; from whence expedients would naturally result, if they pursued that heartily, which would conclude a general Peace. And it seemed very strange, that, after so many discourses of the King's absence from the Houses, from whence they had taught the People to believe, that most of the present Evils flowed, and proceeded, when a Treaty was now entered upon, and that was a part of their own first Proposition, that their Committee should have no Instructions or

B O O K Authority to Treat upon it. After this, they received
VII. new Instructions, “ to declare to his Majesty the
 “ desire of both Houses, for his coming to his Par-
 “ liament; which, they said, they had often expressed
 “ with full offers of security to his Royal Person,
 “ agreeable to their Duty and Allegiance, and they
 “ knew no cause why he might not repair thither
 “ with Honor, and Safety.” When the King found
 he could not engage them in that Argument to make
 any particular Overture, or Invitation to him: and
 that the Committee, who expressed willingness
 enough, had not in truth the least power to promote,
 or contribute to an accommodation, lest they should
 make the People believe, that he had a desire to con-
 tinue the War, because he consented not to their
 Proposition of disbanding the Armies, he sent this
 Message, by an express of his own, to the two
 Houses, after he had first communicated it to their
 Committee.

Oxford April 12th 1643.

His Majesty's
 Message to the
 two Houses of
 Apr. 12. 1643.

“ To show to the whole world, how earnestly
 “ his Majesty longs for Peace, and that no success
 “ shall make him desire the continuance of his Army
 “ to any other end, or for any longer time, than
 “ that, and until, things may be so settled, as that
 “ the Law may have a full, free, and uninterrupted
 “ course, for the Defence, and Preservation of the
 “ Rights of his Majesty, both Houses, and his
 “ good Subjects:

1. “ As soon as his Majesty is satisfied in his first
 “ Proposition, concerning his own Revenue, Ma-
 “ gazines, Ships, and Forts, in which he desires

“ nothing, but that the just, known, legal Rights
 “ of his Majesty (devolved to him from his Proge-
 “ nitors) and of the Persons trusted by him, which
 “ have violently been taken from both, be restored
 “ unto Him, and unto Them; unless any just and
 “ legal exception against any of the Persons trusted
 “ by him (which are yet unknown to his Majesty)
 “ can be made appear to him :

2. “ As soon as all the Members of both Houses
 “ shall be restored to the same capacity of Sitting,
 “ and Voting in Parliament, as they had upon the
 “ first of *January* 1641; the same, of right, belong-
 “ ing unto them by their birth-rights, and the
 “ free Election of those that sent them; and having
 “ been Voted from them for adhering to his Majesty
 “ in these distractions; his Majesty not intending
 “ that this should extend either to the Bishops, whose
 “ Votes have been taken away by Bill, or to such,
 “ in whose places, upon new Writs, new Elections
 “ have been made :

3. “ As soon as his Majesty, and both Houses, may
 “ be secured from such tumultuous Assemblies, as
 “ to the great breach of the Privileges, and the
 “ high dishonor of Parliaments, have formerly As-
 “ sembled about both Houses, and awed the Mem-
 “ bers of the same; and occasioned two several
 “ Complaints from the Lords House, and two sever-
 “ al desires of that House to the House of Commons,
 “ to join in a Declaration against them; the com-
 “ plying with which desire might have prevented
 “ all these miserable distractions, which have en-
 “ sued; which security, his Majesty conceives,

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“ can be only settled by adjourning the Parliament
“ to some other place, at the least twenty Miles
“ from *London*, the choice of which his Majesty
“ leaves to both Houses.

“ His Majesty will most cheerfully and readily
“ consent, that both Armies be immediately dis-
“ banded, and give a present meeting to both his
“ Houses of Parliament at the time, and place, at,
“ and to which, the Parliament shall be agreed to
“ be Adjourned: His Majesty being most confident,
“ that the Law will then recover due credit and
“ estimation; and that upon a free Debate, in a full
“ and peaceable Convention of Parliament, such
“ provisions will be made against seditious Preach-
“ ing, and Printing against his Majesty, and the
“ established Laws, which have been one of the
“ Chief causes of the present distractions, and such
“ care will be taken concerning the Legal, and
“ known Rights of his Majesty, and the Property,
“ and Liberty of his Subjects, that whatsoever hath
“ been published, or done, in or by color of any
“ illegal Declaration, Ordinance, or Order of one
“ or both Houses, or any Committee of either of
“ them, and particularly the power to raise Armies
“ without his Majesty's consent, will be in such
“ manner recalled, disclaimed, and provided against,
“ that no seed will remain for the like to spring out
“ of for the future, to disturb the Peace of the King-
“ dom, and to endanger the very being of it. And
“ in such a Convention his Majesty is resolved, by
“ his readiness to consent to whatsoever shall be pro-
“ posed to him, by Bill, for the real good of his
Subjects

“ Subjects (and particularly for the better discovery,
 “ and speedier conviction of Recusants; for the
 “ Education of the Children of Papists by Protestants
 “ in the Protestant Religion; for the prevention of
 “ practices of Papists against the State; and the due
 “ Execution of the Laws, and true levying of the
 “ Penalties against them) to make known to all the
 “ world, how causeless those Fears, and Jealousies
 “ have been, which have been raised against him;
 “ and by that so distracted this miserable Kingdom.
 “ And if this Offer of his Majesty be not consented
 “ to (in which he Asks nothing for which there is
 “ not apparent Justice on his side, and in which he
 “ defers many things highly concerning both Him-
 “ self, and People, till a full, and peaceable Con-
 “ vention of Parliament, which in Justice he might
 “ now require) his Majesty is confident, that it
 “ will Then appear to all the world, not only Who
 “ is most desirous of Peace, and Whose fault it is
 “ that both Armies are not now disbanded; but
 “ Who have been the true and first cause, that this
 “ Peace was ever interrupted, or those Armies raised,
 “ and the beginning, or continuance of the War;
 “ and the destruction, and desolation of this poor
 “ Kingdom (which is too likely to ensue) will not
 “ by the most interested, passionate, or prejudicate
 “ Person, be imputed to his Majesty.”

To this Message the two Houses returned no
 Answer to the King, but required the Committee
 to return to *Westminster* (having been in *Oxford* with
 his Majesty just twenty days) with such positive
 circumstances, that the House of Commons enjoined

B O O K VII. Their Members to begin their Journey the same day; which they obeyed; though it was so late, that they were forced to very inconvenient Accommodations; and at their return, some of them were looked upon with great Jealousy, as Persons engaged by the King, and disinclined to the Parliament; and this Jealousy prevailed so far, that Mr. *Martin* opened a Letter from the Earl of *Northumberland* to his own Lady, presuming he should therein have discovered some combination; and this insolence was not disliked.

Many were of opinion, that the King was too severe in this Treaty, and insisted too much upon what is his own by Right, and Law; and that if he would have distributed Offices and Places, liberally to particular Men, which had been a condescension in Policy to be submitted to, he might have been repossessed of his own Power. And I have heard this alledged by many, who at that time were extremely violent against all such Artifices. The Committee themselves (who at that time perfectly abhorred the proceedings of the Parliament, or rather the power, and superiority of the Earl of *Essex*) seemed exceedingly desirous of such an accommodation, as all good Men desired; and to believe, that if the King would have condescended so far, as to nominate the Earl of *Northumberland* to be Lord High-Admiral that it would have made so great a division in the Houses, that the Treaty would have been continued, and his Majesty been satisfied in all the other Propositions. And the Earl of *Northumberland*, to private Friends, did make as full Professions of future

Service to his Majesty, and as ample Recognitions of past Errors, and Mistakes, as could reasonably be expected from a wary Nature, before he could be sure what reception such Professions, and Vows would find. But the King thought the Power and Interest of that Committee would be able to do little, if it could not prevail for the enlarging the time of the Treaty, in which they seemed heartily to engage themselves. And he was resolved at least to have a probable Assurance of the conclusion, before he would offer such concessions, as taking no effect might prove prejudicial to him: As particularly, the nominating the Earl of *Northumberland* to be Admiral (though he would willingly have done it, as the price and pledge of an Honorable Peace) would have discontented all who had, how unreasonably soever, promised themselves that preferment; and many would have imputed it to an unreasonable easiness (from which imputation it concerned the King, at that time, as much to purge himself, as of unmercifulness and revenge) upon promises, and hopes, to have re-admitted a Man to a charge, and trust, he had so fatally betrayed, and broken, against as solemn promises, and obligations, at the least, as he could now enter into; and therefore it concerned the King to be sure of some advantage, in lieu of this visible hazard.

I am one of those, who do believe, that this obligation, at this time, laid upon the Earl of *Northumberland*, with such other circumstances of kindness, as would have been fit to accompany it, would have met real gratitude, and faithfulness in

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him (for as, originally, he had, I am persuaded, no evil purposes against the King; so he had now sufficient disdain and indignation against those who got him to tread their Ways, when he had not their Ends) and that it would have made some rent and division in the two Houses (which could not but have produced some benefit to the King) and that it might probably have procured some few days addition for the continuance of the Treaty; the avowed ground of denying it, being, because the King had not, in the least degree, consented to any one thing proposed by them: but, I confess, I cannot entertain any imagination, that it would have produced a Peace, or given the King any advantage, or benefit in the War: what inconvenience it might have produced hath been touched before. For, besides that the stirring and Active Party, who carried on the War, were neither gracious to the Earl of *Northumberland*, nor He to them, their Favorite at Sea being then the Earl of *Warwick*, who had the possession of the Fleet, and whom alone they believed fit to be trusted with the Navy; whoever calls to mind, what was done in the Houses, during the time of the Treaty, and by Their directions; that by their own Authority they directed all the Lands of Bishops, Deans and Chapters, to be sequestered, and inhibited their Tenants to pay any Rent to them; that under pretence of searching for Arms, and taking away superstitious Pictures, they caused the Queen's Chapel at *Somerſet-Houſe* (where ſhe was to exerciſe her devotion, if they ever meant ſhe ſhould return again to *London*) to be moſt licen-

tionously rifled; in which Licence with impunity, her Lodgings were plundered, and all her furniture, and goods of value, taken away and embezzled; that there was an Order made in the House of Commons, when They sent Their Messengers every day to *Oxford* without any Formality, or Control, "that
 " whatsoever Person should come from *Oxford*,
 " or any part of the King's Army to *London*, or the
 " parts adjacent, without the Warrant of both
 " Houses of Parliament, or of the Lord General, the
 " Earl of *Essex*, he should be apprehended as a Spy
 " and Intelligencer, and be proceeded against accord-
 " ing to the rules and grounds of War;" by Virtue of which Order of the House of Commons only, and without any communication that notice might be taken of it, a Servant of the King's, for discharging the duty of his place, was executed; which shall be anon remembered; all which, except the execution of that Man, was transacted during the time of the Treaty at *Oxford*.

Whosoever remembers, the other Proposition upon which the Treaty was founded, and the Bills then presented to the King for his Royal Assent; that there was no unreasonable thing demanded in the nineteen Propositions, which was not comprehended in these fourteen, and many additions made that were not in the former; that they demanded the total abolition and extirpation of Arch-Bishops, Bishops, Deans and Chapters, and the whole frame of the Government of the Church; and another Bill for the calling an Assembly of Divines, nominated by themselves (which was a presumption, as con-

BOOK VII. contrary to the Policy and Government of the Kingdom, as the most extravagant Act they had done) consisting of Persons the most deeply engaged in the most unwarrantable Acts that had been done; and yet his Majesty was required to promise to pass such other Bills for settling of Church-Government, as, upon consultation with that Assembly of Divines, should be resolved on by both Houses of Parliament: That all the other Bills then presented to the King for his Royal Assent, and insisted on by their fourth Proposition, though they had specious and popular Titles, contained many Clauses in them contrary to common Equity, and the Right of the Subject, and introduced proceedings very different from the known Justice of the Kingdom; and therefore, besides the time, and circumstances of the passing those Acts (when the Nation was in blood) not like to meet with his Majesty's Approbation; I say, whosoever remembers, and considers all this (to say nothing of the limitations by which their Committee were bound, without any power of debating, or other capacity than to deliver the Resolutions of the two Houses, and to receive the King's Answer, which might as effectually have been done; by any one single ordinary Messenger) cannot, I conceive, believe, that the King's consenting to make any one Person among them High-Admiral of *England*, would have been a means to have restored the Kingdom to a present Peace, and the King to his just Rights and Authority. And if all these considerations be not sufficient to render that supposition impro-

bable, that, which follows next in order of Story, **B O O K**
will abundantly confute it.

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On *Saturday* the 15th of *April*, which was the very day on which the Treaty expired at *Oxford*, being the last of the twenty days which were first assigned, and to which no importunity of the King's could procure an Addition, the Earl of *Essex* marched with his whole Army from *Windfor*, and sat down before *Reading*; which preparation would not have been so exactly made, and the resolution so punctually taken, if they had meant any reasonable concessions from the King should have frustrated that vast charge, and determined all farther Contentions. The Earl had never before been in the head of so gallant an Army, which consisted of about sixteen thousand Foot, and above three thousand Horse, in as good an Equipage, and supplied with all things necessary for a Siege, as could be expected from an Enemy which knew no wants, and had the Command of the Tower of *London*, and all other Stores of the Kingdom. In the Town were above three thousand Foot, and a Regiment of Horse consisting of near three hundred; the Fortifications were very mean to endure a formed Siege, being made only to secure a Winter Quarter, and never intended for a standing Garrison. And it is very true, that it was resolved at a Council of War at *Oxford*. "that before
" the end of *April*" (before which time it was conceived the Enemy would not adventure to take the Field) "Sir *Arthur Aston* should slight those Works,
" and draw off his Garrison to the King;" and that which made it less able to bear a Siege, than the

The Earl of
Essex marches
to Besiege
Reading
Apr 15. being
the last day of
the Treaty.

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weakness of their Works, was their want of Ammunition; for they had not forty Barrels of Powder; which could have held a brisk and a daring Enemy but a short time. And as this defect proceeded not from want of foresight, so it was not capable of being supplied, at least in that proportion as was worthy the name of a Supply. For the King had no Port to Friend, by which he could bring Ammunition to *Oxford*; neither had he been yet able to set up any Manufacture for any considerable supply. So that what he brought up with him after the Battle of *Edge-hill*, which was the remainder of the four hundred Barrels brought by the Ship called the *Providence*, before the setting up of his Standard, had served for all his expeditions, being distributed into the several Garrisons; and was still to furnish all his growing occasions; and that Magazine now at *Reading* (which was no greater than is before mentioned) was yet double to what was in any other place, *Oxford* only excepted; wherein, at this time, there was not above one hundred Barrels of Powder, and in no one place Match proportionable to that little Powder: And this defect is wholly to be imputed to the lowness, and straitness of the King's condition; for there was no want of industry, but all imaginable care and pains taken to prevent, and supply it.

Notwithstanding all these difficulties, the Town looked upon the Enemy with Courage and Contempt enough; and to say the truth, both Officers and Soldiers were as good, as in the infancy of a War could be expected; and they had no appre-

hension of want of Victual, with which they were abundantly stored. The Soldiers without, were, for the most part, newly levied, and few of their Officers acquainted with the way and order of Assaulting Towns; and this was the first Siege that happened in *England*. Upon the first sitting down before it, after they had taken a full View of the ground, their General advised with his Council of War, in what manner he should proceed. whether by Assault, or Approach; in which there was great diversity of opinions. “ The Works were weak; “ the Number of the Assailants sufficient; all materials in readiness; they believed the Soldiers in the “ Town full of Apprehensions. and a very considerable Party of the Inhabitants disaffected to the “ Garrison, who in the time of a Storm would be “ able to beget a great distraction. They might be “ able to Storm it in so many places at once, that “ the number of the Soldiers within would not be “ able to defend all; and if they prevailed in any “ One, their whole Body of Horse might enter, “ and be immediately Masters of the Town. If they “ prevailed this way, their Army would have that “ Reputation, and carry that terror with it, that “ no power of the King’s would hereafter be able to “ abide it; but they might march over the Kingdom, “ and subdue every part of it; whereas if they delayed their work and proceeded by way of Approach, those in the Town would recover heart, “ and after they had digested the present Fears and “ Apprehensions, contemn their danger; and their “ own Soldiers, who were yet fresh and vigorous,

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“ would every day abate in Courage, and their
 “ Numbers in a few weeks lessen as much by sickness
 “ and duty. as they should probably do by an Af-
 “ fault.” On the other hand it was objected, “ that
 “ the Army consisted most of new Levies” (and in
 truth there were not, of all that gallant Army that
 was at *Edge-hill*, among the Foot, three thousand
 Men) “ who would be hardly brought to begin
 “ upon so desperate Service; that it was the only
 “ Army the Parliament had, upon which all their
 “ hopes, and welfare depended; and if, in the
 “ Spring, it should receive an Eminent foil, they
 “ would not recover their Courage again all the
 “ Summer. That they were not only to look upon
 “ the taking of *Reading*, but, pursuing that in a
 “ reasonable way, to keep themselves in a posture
 “ and condition to end the War by a Battle with all
 “ the King’s Forces; which would no doubt apply
 “ themselves to their relief; and no place under
 “ Heaven could be so commodious for them to try
 “ their Fortune in, as That. Whereas if they should
 “ hastily engage themselves upon an Assault, and
 “ receive a Repulse, and should be afterwards
 “ forced to rise to Fight with the King, they should
 “ never make their Men stand; and then their Cause
 “ was lost.” As for the danger of sickness among the
 Soldiers, who were not acquainted with hardships,
 it was urged, “ that though it were earlier in the
 “ year than the Armies usually marched into the
 “ Field. yet they had much better accommodation
 “ and provision than Armies use to have; their Horse
 “ (to whom that time of the year is commonly most

“hazardous, through the want of Forage) being
“plentifully provided for with Hay and Oats by
“the benefit of the River, and all Supplies being
“sent for the Foot out of *London*.”

And in truth it is hardly credible what vast quantities (besides the Provisions made in a very regular way by the Commissioners) of excellent Victual ready dressed, were every day sent in Waggon and Carts from *London* to the Army, upon the voluntary contributions from private Families, according to their Affections to the good Work in hand: the Common-People being persuaded, that the taking of *Reading* would destroy all the King's hopes of an Army; and that it would be taken in very few days. Upon these Arguments and Debates (in which all these reasons were considered on both sides) the Major part of the Council inclined, and with that the General complied, to pursue the business by Approach. It was reported, that the Officers of Horse in the Council were all for a Storm, and the Foot-Officers for Approaching. The chief Care and Oversight of the Approaches was committed to *Philip Skippon*, a Man often mentioned in the first part of this History, who had been an old Officer, and of good experience in the low Countries, and was now made Serjeant-Major-General of the Army, by the absolute power of the two Houses, and without the cheerful concurrence of the Earl of *Essex*; though Sir *John Merrick*, who had executed that place by his Lordship's choice from the beginning, was preferred to be General of the Ordnance.

The Approaches advanced very fast, the ground

B O O K being in all places as fit for that work as could be;
VII. and the Town lying so low, that they had easily raised many Batteries, from whence they shot their Cannon into the Town at a near distance, but without any considerable execution; there being fewer lost by that Service, than will be believed, and but one Man of note, Lieutenant-Colonel *D'Ews* a young Man of notable Courage, and Vivacity, who had his Leg shot off by a Cannon-Bullet, of which he speedily and very cheerfully died. From the Town there were frequent Sallies with good success; and very many Soldiers, and some Officers, of the Enemy were killed; more, hurt; who were sent to Hospitals near *London*; and those that were sent to *London*, as many Cart-Loads were, were brought in the night, and disposed with great secrecy, that the Citizens might take no notice of it; the Stratagems of this kind are too ridiculous to be particularly set down, though pursued then with great industry, insomuch as some were punished for reporting that there were many Soldiers killed, and hurt before *Reading*; and it was a mark of Malignity to believe those reports: so unfit the People were to be trusted with all truths.

Within a week after the beginning of the Siege, Sir *Arthur Aston* the Governor, being in a Court of Guard near the Line which was nearest to the Enemies Approaches, a Cannon-shot accidentally lighted upon the top of it, which was covered with Brick-tile, a piece whereof, the shot going through, hit the Governor in the head, and made that impression upon him, that his senses shortly failed him; so that

he was not only disabled afterwards from executing in his own Person, but incompetent for Counsel or Direction; so that the chief Command was devolved to Colonel *Richard Fielding*, who was the eldest Colonel of the Garrison. This accident was then thought of great misfortune to the King, for there was not in his Army an Officer of greater Reputation, and of whom the Enemy had a greater dread. The next night after this accident, but before it was known at *Oxford*, a Party from thence under the Command of Mr. *Wilmot* the Lieutenant General of the Horse, without any signal opposition, put in a supply of powder, and a Regiment of five hundred Foot into the Town, and received Advertisment from thence of the Governor's hurt, and that they must expect to be relieved within a week, beyond which time they should not be able to hold out. How ill the King was provided for such an expedition, will best appear by remembering how his Forces were then scattered, and the present posture he was then in at *Oxford*.

The nimble and the successful marches of Sir *William Waller*, whom We left triumphing in *Wales*, after his strange surprise of the Lord *Herbert's* Forces near *Glocester*, caused the King to send Prince *Maurice* with a strong Party of Horse and Dragoons to attend him, who moved from place to place with as great success as speed, after his success at *Hynam*; and to make the shame of those Officers the less, with the spirit of Victory doubled upon him, he came before *Hereford*, a Town very well affected, and reasonably well Fortified, having a strong Stone-

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Sir William
Waller takes
Hereford :

Comes before
Worcester :
is repulsed.

Wall about it, and some Cannon, and there being in it some Soldiers of good Reputation, and many Gentlemen of Honor, and Quality; and three or four hundred Soldiers, besides the Inhabitants well Armed; yet, without the loss of one Man on either side, to the admiration of all, who then heard it, or have ever since heard of it, he persuaded them fairly to give up the Town, and yield themselves Prisoners upon Quarter; which they did, and were presently by him sent for their better security to *Bristol*.

From thence he marched to *Worcester*, where his conquests met some stop; for though the Town was not so strong, nor the Garrison so great (I mean of Soldiers; for the Inhabitants were more) as *Hereford*, nor one Officer in it of more experience than he had gotten this unhappy War, the Inhabitants had the Courage to resolve not to admit any Summons or Messenger from him; and when his Drum, against all signs made to him from the Walls not to Approach, did notwithstanding refuse to return without delivering his Message, they shot at him, and killed him; and when Sir *William Waller* himself, to revenge that Affront, marched with his whole Body towards them (there being only an old Gate without Bridge, or Work before it, to hinder his entrance into the Town) they entertained him so roughly, that he was forced to retire with the loss of some Officers, and about twenty Common-Men; after which, his Men having not been accustomed to such usage, he got over the *Severn* again, and with quick night-marches, so avoided Prince

Maurice (who took no less pains to meet with him) that with some few light Skirmishes, in which he received small loss he carried his Party safe, and full of Reputation, through *Glocester* to the Earl of *Essex's* Army before *Reading*; himself being sent for to *London*, upon a design that must be hereafter mentioned.

The great want at *Oxford* (if any one particular might deserve that Style, where all necessary things were wanted) was Ammunition; and the only hope of supply was from the North; yet the passage from thence so dangerous, that a Party little Inferior in strength to an Army was necessary to convey it; for, though the Earl of *New Castle*, at that time, was Master of the Field in *Yorkshire*, yet the Enemy was much Superior in all the Counties between that County and *Oxford*; and had planted many Garrisons so near all the Roads, that the most private Messengers travelled with great hazard, three being intercepted for one that escaped. To clear these obstructions, and not without the design of guarding and waiting on the Queen to *Oxford*, if her Majesty were ready for that Journey, at least to secure a necessary supply of Powder, Prince *Rupert* resolved in Person to march towards the North, and about the beginning of *April* (the Treaty being then at *Oxford*, and there being hopes that it would have produced a good effect, at least that the Earl of *Essex* would not have taken the Field till *May*) his Highness, with a Party of twelve hundred Horse and Dragoons, and six or seven hundred Foot, marched towards *Lichfield*; which if he could reduce,

B O O K
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Prince Rupert
marches
towards the
North.

B O O K and settle there a Garrison for the King, lay most
VII. convenient for that Northern Communication; and would with it dissolve other little adjacent holds of the Enemies, which contributed much to their interruption. In his way thither, he was to march through *Bromicham*, a Town in *Warwickshire* before mentioned, and of as great fame for hearty, wilful, affected Disloyalty to the King, as any place in *England*. It is before remembered, that the King in his march from *Shrewsbury*, notwithstanding the eminent malignity of that People, had showed as eminent compassion to them; not giving way that they should suffer by the undistinguishing licence of the Soldier, or by the severity of his own Justice; which clemency of his, found so unequal a return, that the next day after his remove thence, the Inhabitants of that place seized on his Carriages, wherein were his own Plate, and Furniture; and conveyed them to *Warwick-Castle*; and had from that time, with unusual industry and vigilance, apprehended all Messengers who were employed, or suspected to be so, in the King's Service; and though it was never made a Garrison by direction of the Parliament, being built in such a form, as was indeed hardly capable of being Fortified, yet they had so great a desire to distinguish themselves from the King's good Subjects, that they cast up little slish works at both ends of the Town, and Barricadoed the rest, and voluntarily engaged themselves not to admit any intercourse with the King's Forces.

In this posture Prince *Rupert* now found them, having in the Town with them at that time a Troop
of

of Horse, belonging to the Garrison of *Lichfield*, which was grown to that strength, that it infested those parts exceedingly; and would in a short time have extended itself to a powerful Jurisdiction. His Highness hardly believing it possible, that when they should discover his Power, they would offer to make Resistance, and being unwilling to receive interruption in his more Important design, sent his Quarter-Masters thither to take up his Lodging; and to assure them, "that if they behaved themselves peaceably, they should not suffer for what was past:" But they had not Consciences good enough to believe him, and absolutely refused to let him Quarter in the Town; and from their little Works, with Mettle equal to their Malice, they discharged their shot upon him; but they were quickly overpowered, and some parts of the Town being fired, they were not able to contend with both Enemies; and, distracted between both, suffered the Assailant to enter without much loss; who took not that vengeance upon them they deserved, but made them expiate their Transgressions with paying a less Mulct, than might have been expected from their Wealth, if their Wickedness had been less.

Takes Bro:
micham.

In the Entrance of this Town, and in the too eager pursuit of that loose Troop of Horse that was in it, the Earl of *Denbigh* (who from the beginning of the War, with unwearied pains, and exact submission to discipline and order, had been a Volunteer in Prince *Rupert's* Troop, and been engaged with singular Courage in all enterprises of danger) was unfortunately wounded with many hurts on the

B O O K Head and Body with Swords, and Poll-Axes; of
VII. which, within two or three days, he died. Had it not been for this ill accident (and to remember the dismal inequality of this contention, in which always some Earl, or Person of great Honor or Fortune fell, when after the most signal Victory over the other side, there was seldom lost a Man of any known Family, or of other Reputation, than of Passion for the Cause in which he fell) I should not have mentioned an Action of so little moment, as was this of *Bromicham*; which I shall yet enlarge with the remembrance of a Clergy-Man, who was here killed at the entering of the Town, after he had not only refused quarter, but provoked the Soldiers by the most odious revilings, and reproaches of the Person and Honor of the King, that can be imagined, and renouncing all Allegiance to him; in whose pockets were found several Papers of Memorials of his own obscene, and scurrilous behaviour with several Women, in such loose expressions, as modest ears cannot endure. This Man was the principal Governor, and incendiary of the rude People of that place against their Sovereign. So full a qualification was a heightened measure of malice and disloyalty for this Service, that it weighed down the infamy of any other lewd and vicious behaviour.

From *Bromicham*, the Prince, without longer stay than to remove two or three slight Garrisons in the way, which made very little resistance, marched to *Lichfield*, and easily possessed himself of the Town, which lay open to all Comers; but the Close (containing the Cathedral-Church, and all the Clergy-

Men's Houses) was strongly fortified, and resolved against him. The Wall, about which there was a broad and deep Moat, was so thick, and strong, that no Battery the Prince could raise, would make any impression; the Governor, one Colonel *Rouswell*, very resolute; and the Garrison of such Men as were most transported with Superstition to the Cause in which they engaged, and in Number equal to the ground they were to keep, and their Provisions ample for a longer time than it was fit the Prince should stay before it. So that it was believed, when his Highness had in vain endeavoured to procure it by Treaty, he would not have engaged before it: for his strength consisted, upon the matter, wholly in Horse; his Foot and Dragoons being an inconsiderable Force for such an Attempt. But whether the Difficulties were not thoroughly discerned, and weighed at first, or whether the importance of the place was thought so great, that it was worth an equal hazard, and adventure, he resolved not to move till he had tried the uttermost; and to that purpose, drew what addition of Force he could out of the Country, to strengthen his handful of Foot; and persuaded many Officers, and Volunteers of the Horse to alight, and bear their parts in the Duty; with which they cheerfully and gallantly complied; and in less than ten days, he had drawn the Moat dry, and prepared two Bridges for the graff. The Besieged omitted nothing that could be performed by vigilant, and bold Men; and killed, and wounded many of the Besiegers; and disappointed, and spoiled one Mine they had prepared.

B O O K In the end, early in the Morning, the Prince having prepared all things in readiness for the Assault, he sprung another Mine; which succeeded according to wish, and made a breach of twenty foot in the Wall, in a place least suspected by those within; yet they defended it with all possible Courage and Resolution, and killed and hurt very many; some, Officers of prime Quality; whereof the Lord *Digby*, Colonel *Gerrard*, Colonel *Wagstaffe*, and Major *Leg*, were the chief of the wounded; and when they had entered the breach, they continued the dispute so fiercely within (the narrowness of the breach, and the ascent not suffering many to enter together, and no Horse being able to get over) that after they had killed Colonel *Usher*, and some other good Officers, and taken others Prisoners (for both Colonel *Wagstaffe*, and *William Leg* were in their hands) they compelled the Prince to consent to very honorable Conditions; which he readily yielded to, as thinking himself a Gainer by the Bargain. And so the Garrison marched out with fair respect, and the Prince's testimony of their having made a Courageous Defence; his Highness being very glad of his Conquest, though the purchase had shrewdly shaken his Troops, and robbed him of many Officers and Soldiers he much valued. At this time, either the day before, or the day after this Action, Prince *Rupert* received a positive Order from the King, "to make all possible haste, with all the strength he had, and all he could draw together from those parts, to the Relief of *Reading*;" which was in the danger We but now left it. Upon which his

and Lichfield,
and returns to
the King.

Highness, committing the Government of *Lichfield* to Colonel *Baggot*, a Son of a good and powerful Family in that County, and appointing his Troops to make what haste was possible after him, himself with a few Servants came to *Oxford* to attend the King, whom he found gone towards *Reading*. BOOK VII.

The importunity from that Garrison for Relief, was so peremptory, and the concernment so great in their Preservation, that the King found it would not bear the necessary delay of Prince *Rupert's* returning with His Forces; and therefore his Majesty in Person, with those Horse and Foot which he could speedily draw together, leaving very few behind him in *Oxford*, or in any other Garrison, advanced towards *Reading*; hoping, and that was the utmost of his hope, that He might with the Assistance of the Garrison, be able to force one Quarter, and so draw out his Men; and by the advantage of those Rivers which divided the Enemy, and by the Passes, be able to retire to *Oxford*; for being joined, he could not have equalled one half of the Enemies Army. When the King drew near the Town, the day being passed whereon they had been promised, or had promised themselves Relief, he was encountered by a Party of the Enemy which defended their Post, who being quickly seconded by Supplies of Horse and Foot from all their Quarters, after a very sharp Conflict, in which many fell on both sides, the King's Party, Commanded by the Earl of *Forth* himself [the General] consisting of near one thousand Musketeers, were forced to retire to their Body; which they did the sooner, because those of the Town

B O O K made no semblance of endeavouring to join with
VII. them; which was what they principally relied upon.
The reason of that was, the Garrison, not seeing
their Relief coming, had sent for a Parley to the
Enemy, which was agreed to, with a Truce for so
many hours, upon which Hostages were delivered;
and a Treaty begun, when the King came to Relieve
it. Upon the view of the Enemies strength, and in-
trenchment, all were of opinion that the small Forces
of the King would not be able to raise the Siege, or
to join with those in the Town; and in this Melan-
cholic conclusion his Majesty retired for the present,
resolving to make any other reasonable Attempt the
next day. In the mean time, some Soldiers found
means to escape out of the Town, and Colonel
Fielding himself in the Night came to the King, and
told him the State they were in; and “ that they
“ were in Treaty, and believed he might have very
“ good Conditions. and liberty to march away with
“ all their Arms and Bagage;” which was so welcome
News, that the King bid him, Prince *Rupert* being
then present, “ that if he could procure such Con-
“ ditions, he should accept them:” for indeed the
Men and the Arms were all that the King desired, the
loss of either of which was like to prove fatal to him.
The King continued still at *Nettlebeck*, a Village seven
or eight Miles distant from *Reading*, to attend the
success of the Treaty; resolving, if it succeeded not,
to try the utmost again for their Redemption; but all
Men praying heartily for liberty to march off upon
the Treaty, the next day these Articles were
agreed on.

1. " That the Governor, Commanders, and
 " Soldiers, both Horse and Foot, might march out
 " with flying Colors, Arms, and four Pieces of
 " Ordnance, Ammunition, Bag and Baggage, light
 " Match, Bullet in Mouth, Drums beating and
 " Trumpets sounding.

2. " That they might have free passage to his Ma-
 " jesty's City of *Oxford*, without interruption of any
 " of the Forces under the command of his Excellency
 " the Earl of *Essex*; provided the said Governor,
 " Commanders, and Soldiers, use no Hostility until
 " they come to *Oxford*.

3. " That what Persons were accidentally come
 " to the Town, and shut up by the Siege, might have
 " liberty to pass without interruption; such Persons
 " only excepted, as had run away from the Army
 " under the Command of the Earl of *Essex*.

4. " That they shall have fifty Carriages for Bag-
 " gage, sick and hurt Men.

5. " That the Inhabitants of the Town of *Reading*
 " should not be pejudiced in their Estates, or Per-
 " sons, either by Plundering or Imprisonment; and
 " that they who would leave the Town, might have
 " free leave, and passage, safely to go to what place
 " they would, with their goods, within the space
 " of six Weeks after the Surrender of the Town.

6. " That the Garrison should quit the Town by
 " twelve of the Clock the next Morning; and that
 " the Earl of *Essex* should provide a Guard for the
 " Security of the Garrison-Soldiers, when they
 " begun to march."

Upon these Articles, signed by the Earl of *Essex*,

B O O K the Town was delivered on the 27th day of *April*
VII. (being within a fortnight after the Siege begun) and the Garrison marched to the King, who stayed for them, and with him to *Oxford*. But at their coming out of the Town, and passing through the Enemy's Guards, the Soldiers were not only reviled, and reproachfully used, but many of them disarmed, and most of the Waggon's plundered, in the presence of the Earl of *Essex* himself, and the Chief Officers; who seemed to be offended at it, and not to be able to prevent it; the unruliness of the Common-Men being so great. As this breach of the Articles was very notorious, and inexcusable, so it was made the rise, foundation, and excuse for barbarous injustice of the same kind throughout the greatest part of the War; inasmuch as the King's Soldiers afterward, when it was their part to be precise in the observation of Agreements mutinously remembered the violation at *Reading*; and thereupon exercised the same Licence; from thence, either side having somewhat to object to the other, the requisite honesty and justice of observing conditions was mutually, as it were by agreement, for a long time after Violated.

There had been, in the Secret Committee for the carrying on the War, forming those designs, and administering to the expenses thereof, a long debate with great difference of opinion, whether they should not march directly with their Army to Besiege *Oxford*, where the King and the Court was, rather than *Reading*; and if they had taken that resolution, as Mr. *Hambden*, and all they who desired still to strike at the Root, very earnestly insisted upon, without

doubt they had put the King's Affairs into great confusion. For, besides that *Oxford* was not tolerably Fortified, nor the Garrison well provided for, the Court, and Multitude of Nobility, and Ladies, and Gentry, with which it was inhabited, bore any kind of Alarm very ill. But others, who did not yet think their Army well enough composed to resist all temptations, nor enough subdued in their inclinations to Loyalty, and Reverence towards the Person of the King, had no mind it should Besiege the very place where the King himself was; and the Earl of *Essex* himself, who was yet the Soul of the Army, had no mind to that Enterprize: and so the Army marched, as hath been said, directly to *Reading*, with the success that is mentioned.

Though, at the instant, the Parliament was highly pleased with the getting the Town, and the King as well contented, when he saw his entire Garrison safely joined to the rest of his Army (for it cannot be denied the joy was universal through the King's Quarters, upon the Assurance that they had recovered near four thousand good Men, whom they had given for lost) yet, according to the Vicissitudes in War, when the Accounts are cast up, either party grew quickly dissatisfied with it's success. The King was no sooner returned to *Oxford*, but upon conference between the Officers and Soldiers, there grew a Whisper, "that there had not been fair carriage, "and that *Reading* had been betrayed," and from thence made a noise through *Oxford*; and the very next day, and at the same time, Colonel *Fielding*, upon whom the discourses reflected, came to the King to

B O O K VII. desire, " that an Account might be taken of the
 " whole business at a Council of War for his Vindi-
 " cation;" and the Common-Soldiers, in a disorderly
 manner, " to require Justice against Him for betraying,
 " and delivering up the Town to the Rebels;" which
 they avowed with so much confidence, with the
 mention of some particulars, " as the having frequent
 " intercourse with the Earl of *Essex*, and hindering
 " and forbidding the Soldiers to issue out of the
 " Town to join with the King, when he came to
 " relieve them, although their Officers had drawn
 " them up to that purpose, and were ready to lead
 " them; and the like;" with some rash, and passionate
 words disrespectful to his Majesty; so that he gave
 present order for his commitment, and trial at a Court
 of War; the King himself being marvellously incensed
 against him, for that Clause in the third Article, which
 gave liberty to all who were accidentally come to the
 Town, and shut up by the Siege, to pass without inter-
 ruption, wherein there was an exception of such Per-
 sons who had run away from the Earl of *Essex*'s Army,
 and by virtue of that exception some Soldiers were
 taken after the rendering of the Town, and were exe-
 cuted. And though the Colonel excused himself, " as
 " being no more concerned to Answer for the Articles,
 " than every Member of the Council of War, by
 " which they were agreed," yet it was alledged, " that
 " the Council of War had been induced to consent to
 " those Articles, upon the Colonel's averment, that
 " the King had seen them, and approved of them."
 Whereas his Majesty had never seen any Articles in
 writing, but only consented, that they should march

Colonel
 Feilding
 ordered to be
 tried for the
 Surrender.

away with their Arms and Baggage, if the Enemy agreed to those conditions. I have not known the King more afflicted, than he was with that Clause, which he called no less " than giving up those poor Men, who out of conscience of their Rebellion, had betaken themselves to his Protection, to be Massacred and Murdered by the Rebels, whom they had deserted ;" and for the vindication of himself therein, he immediately published a Proclamation, in which he took notice of that Clause ; and declared to all the world :

" That he was not privy to, or, in the least degree, consenting to that exception, but held the same most prejudicial to his Service, and derogatory to his Honor ; and that he would always chuse to run any hazard or danger, the Violence or Treason of his Enemies could threaten, or bring upon him, rather than he would withdraw, or deny his Protection to any, who, being convinced in their conscience of their disloyalty, should return to their Duty, and betake themselves to his Service. And as he had referred to a Court of War, the full examination of all the particular proceedings, in the delivery of that Town, that Justice might be done accordingly ; so he did declare, that he would always proceed with all severity against such, as should, by the like dishonorable conditions, expose his Subjects, and bereave Them of his Protection that had returned to their Obedience to him."

At the Trial, it was objected against the Colonel, that the Town might have been longer defended,

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“ there being want of no necessary Provision, and
 “ as much Powder, at the giving it up, as there
 “ was when the Enemy came first before it; for
 “ besides the first supply, sixteen Barrels were put
 “ in during the Skirmish, when the King came to
 “ relieve it: That several Colonels pressed very ear-
 “ nestly to sally, when the King’s Forces were en-
 “ gaged, and that they were expressly hindered,
 “ and forbidden by Him: That he frequently gave
 “ his Pass to a Woman to go out of the Town,
 “ who went into the Earl of *Essex*’s Army, and re-
 “ turned again: That he persuaded the Council of
 “ War to consent to the Articles, by protesting
 “ that the King had well approved them, and re-
 “ proached those Officers who were of another
 “ opinion;” with some other particulars of Li-
 cence and Passion, which reflected more upon his
 Discretion, than his Honesty, or Conduct.

He justified himself “ to have done nothing to-
 “ wards the delivery of the place, but upon full
 “ consideration, advice, and approbation of the
 “ Council of War: That he was in his own con-
 “ science, and judgment satisfied, that the Substance
 “ of the Articles were advantageous for his Majesty’s
 “ Service; and though it was true, by that last sup-
 “ ply of Ammunition, their Store was near as much
 “ as when the Siege begun; yet it was in all but
 “ thirty-two Barrels, which would have lasted but
 “ few hours, if the Enemy, who had approached
 “ within little more than Pistol-shot of some parts
 “ of their works, should attack them in that manner
 “ as they had reason to expect; and if they had

“ held out longer, when it had appeared that the
“ King was not strong enough to relieve them,
“ they should not have been admitted to such con-
“ ditions: and therefore, that he believed a hazard
“ of so great a concernment, was not to be run,
“ when he well knew his Majesty’s former resolution
“ of fighting the Garrison; and that it would not
“ be now done above a fortnight sooner than was
“ intended: That he had no knowledge of his Ma-
“ jesty’s approach, till the Forces were engaged,
“ when a Truce was concluded, and their Hostages
“ in the Enemies hands: and therefore, that he con-
“ ceived it against the Law of Arms to make any
“ attempt from the Town; and before they could
“ sufficiently deliberate it in Council, his Majesty’s
“ Forces retired: That the Woman to whom he
“ gave a Pass, was one, he often employed as a
“ Spy, with very good effect; and he did believe,
“ the advantage he received by it, was greater than
“ she could carry to the Enemy by any information
“ she could give: That he did persuade the Council
“ of War to consent to the conditions, because he
“ believed them very profitable to his Majesty, and
“ he had averred only his Majesty’s Approbation
“ of the general Substance of the Articles, never
“ applied it to the Clause of the third Article, which
“ he much desired to have altered, but could not
“ obtain the consent of the Enemy. If he had been
“ intemperate, or passionate to any, who were of
“ another opinion, or had used any passionate ex-
“ pressions in the Debate, it proceeded only from
“ his Zeal to the Service, and his apprehension of

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“ the loss of so many good Men, upon whom he
 “ well knew the King much depended: That he
 “ might have committed many Indiscretions, for
 “ which he desired pardon, but had not failed in
 “ point of Fidelity: That by the unfortunate hurt
 “ of the Governor, the Command was devolved
 “ upon him by his right of Seniority, not any am-
 “ bitious design of his own: That he had, from
 “ time to time, acquainted Sir *Arthur Aston* with
 “ the State, and Condition they were in, and though
 “ his indisposition of health was such, that he would
 “ not give positive Orders, he seemed to approve
 “ of all that was done; and though, for the former
 “ reason, he refused to sign the Articles, yet they
 “ were read to him, and he expressed no dislike of
 “ them.” The truth of it is, Sir *Arthur Aston* was
 believed by many, not to be in so incompetent a
 condition to Command as he pretended; and that
 albeit his head was so much swollen, that he might
 not in Person venture upon any execution, yet his
 understanding, or senses, were not much distem-
 pered, or discomposed; and that he, only positively
 waved meddling, out of dislike of the condition they
 were in. And it is true, that, when he came to
Oxford, he could speak as reasonably of any matter,
 as ever I knew him before, or after.

Notwithstanding all the defence the Colonel could
 make for himself, and that there was not indeed any
 color of proof, that he had acted any thing trea-
 cherously, he was, upon an Article “for not obeying
 “ Orders (for in this agitation he had received some
 such, which he had not precisely observed)” sen-

tenced to lose his head ; which judgment, after long and great intercession, was, in the end, remitted by the King; but his Regiment disposed to another; and He never restored to that Command. And though he had been always before of an unblemished Reputation for Honesty, and Courage; and had heartily been engaged from the beginning of the Troubles, and been hurt in the Service, and he appeared afterwards as a Volunteer, with the same Courage, in the most perilous Actions, and obtained a principal Command in another of the King's Armies, he never recovered the misfortune and blemish of this Imputation. And yet I must profess for My part, being no stranger to what was then alledged, and proved on either Party, I do believe him to have been free from any base compliance with the Enemy, or any cowardly declension of what was reasonable to be attempted. So fatal are all misfortunes, and so difficult a thing it is to play an after-Game of Reputation, in that nice and jealous profession.

The Inconveniences, and Mischiefs, that resulted to the King from this accident, were greater than were at that time taken notice of; for from this, the Factions in Court, Army, and City (which afterwards grew very troublesome to the King) were dated, and took their original; great Animosities grew between the Officers of the Army; some being thought to have been too passionate, and solicitous in the prosecution of the Colonel, and too much to have countenanced the rage and fury of Common-Soldiers in demanding Justice on their Officer; for

BOOK VII. from such a kind of Clamor it begun. Others again were as much condemned for a palpable avowed protection of him, thereby to show their power, that a Person They favored, should not suffer; and of both these, some were more Violent than they should have been; which several Inclinations equally possessed the Court, some believing that he was really guilty of Treachery, though not so clearly proved; and therefore that, being within the Mercy of the Law upon another Article, no mercy ought to be showed to him; others as really supposing him Innocent, and therefore thinking it great pity, severely to take the forfeiture, upon such a point, as few Officers of the Army did not know Themselves guilty in: these supposing the former too full of rigor, and uncharitableness; and They again accusing the Other of too much lenity, and indulgence; whilst many Gentlemen of Honor, and Quality, whose Fortunes were embarked with the King, grew extremely jealous, that the Parliament had corrupted some of the King's Officers with rewards; and that others had power to protect them from punishment, and discovery; and the Soldiers again as much incensed, that their lives must be sacrificed, upon Casual, and Accidental trespasses, to the animosity and jealousy of those who run not the same dangers with them.

But these Indispositions, and Distempers, were the effects of the exigents of that time (I wish the humors had been impaired when the times mended) and very many who saw the King's condition very low in an instant, and believed the Rebels to be
most

most flourishing, would look no farther for a reason, than the loss of *Reading*; though they had All still, but the Town; which was never intended to be kept. It is most certain, that the King himself was so far from believing the condition he was in to be tolerable, that, upon the news of the Earl of *Essex's* advance towards *Oxford*, within four or five days after the loss of *Reading*, he once resolved, and that by the advice of the Chief Officers of his Army, to march away towards the North, to join with the Earl of *New-Castle*. And if the Earl of *Essex* had, at that time, but made any show of moving with his whole Body that way, I do verily persuade myself, *Oxford* itself, and all the other Garrisons of those parts, had been quitted to them; but those fears were quickly composed, by an Assurance of the Earl's stay at *Reading*; and that he was not in a posture for a present march, and that his Numbers had been shrewdly lessened by the Siege: whereupon the King resolved to abide him, and give him Battle about *Oxford*, if he advanced; and, in the mean time, encamped his Foot upon the Down, about a Mile from *Abingdon*; which was the head Quarter for his Horse.

When the Season of the year grew ripe for taking the Field, the Earl of *Essex* found that his too early march had nothing advanced his Affairs; the Soldiers having performed so strict duty; and lodging upon the ground, in frost and rain, before *Reading*, had produced great sickness and diseases in his Army, which had wasted abundance of his Men; so that he wanted rather another Winter-Quarter to recover,

B O O K and recruit his Men, than an opportunity to engage
VII. them in Action; which he found would be too often administered. He sent daily importunities to the Parliament for supplies of all kinds, which they were not enough furnished with to satisfy him; new Divisions, and Animosities arose There, to perplex their Counsels. Their Triumph upon the taking of *Reading*, which they had celebrated with loud festivity, and made the City believe, that all those benefits would attend it, which they knew would be most grateful to them, appeared now without any fruit; the King had all his Forces and Army entire, and had only lost a Town that he never meant to keep, and which They knew not what to do with; and was now ready to come into the Field, when Theirs was destitute of health, and all those accommodations, which must enable them to march: and their General, every day reiterated his complaints, and reproached them with the unskilful Orders they had sent him, by which, against all the Advice and Arguments he had given them, he was reduced to that extremity.

The disrespectful, and absurd breaking off the Treaty with the King, was urged by their Commissioners; who thought themselves disobliged by it, and published the King's gracious disposition, and the temper of the Council in *Oxford*, to be different from what the Parliament desired it should be believed. They complained of Jealousies which had been entertained of their Integrity; and the Earl of *Northumberland* having discovered, as is said before, that *Harry Martin* had opened a Letter, which he

had writ from *Oxford* to his Lady, took him aside, after a conference in the Painted-Chamber between the two Houses, and questioned him upon it; and the other giving him some rude Answers in justification of what he had done, the Earl Cudgelled him in that presence; upon which many Swords were drawn, to the great reproach and scandal of the Parliament.

These, and the like Instances of distraction, and confusion, brought the Reputation of that Party low; and made it looked upon, as like to destroy itself without an Enemy; whilst the King's Party, at that distance, seemed to be more united, and to have recovered their Spirits, of which they received frequent evidence by the News of some of their Quarters being beat up, and many of their Men lost by the unexpected Incursions of the King's Horse; whereof some Parties, by Night-marches, and unusual Lanes, went often near *London*, and took many Prisoners, who thought themselves secure, in their Houses, and in Journeys they made; who were put to ransom themselves with good Sums of Money; so that, after all those Mountains of promises, and undertakings, the wants were greater, and the City more importuned for Money, and the Parliament visibly more necessitated for want of it, than they had been before; and instead of dispersing the King's Army, and bringing the King back to his Parliament, a sudden direction was given, and a vigorous execution of that direction was begun, to draw a Line about the Cities of *London* and *Westminster*, and to Fortify it; lest the King's Forces

B O O K VII. might break in upon them; which made the People suspect the State of their Affairs to be worse than in truth it was; yet so far were they from any thoughts of Peace, and Accommodation, that the House of Commons raged more furiously than ever; and every day engaged themselves in conclusions more monstrous, than they had yet entered upon. For the supply of the Charge of the War, they proposed settling and imposing an Excise upon such Commodities as might best bear it; which was a burden the People of *England* had hitherto reproached other Nations with, as a Mark of Slavery, and never feared by themselves; and for the exercise of the Sovereign Power, they Resolved it fit to make a new Great-Seal, to be always resident with the Houses. But the Lords were not yet arrived at that presumption, but plainly refused to concur with them in either.

Whilst both Armies lay quiet, the One about *Reading*, the Other about *Abingdon*, or *Oxford*, without attempting one upon the other, or any Action, save some small Enterprises by Parties (in which the King got advantage; as particularly the Young Earl of *Northampton* fortunately encountered a Party of Horse and Foot from *Northampton*, which thought themselves strong enough to attempt upon *Banbury*: But he having Routed their Horse, killed above two hundred of their Foot, and took as many more Prisoners, most whereof were shrewdly hurt, the Young Earl that day sacrificing to the Memory of his Father) the King received, from the Earl of *New-Castle*, by a strong Party of Horse, a good and

ample supply of Ammunition ; the want whereof all Men looked upon with great Horror. As soon as this was arrived , and the King had heard , that his Armies , both in the North , and West . begun to flourish , and thought himself well provided to encounter the Earl of *Essex* , if he desired it ; his Majesty resolved once more to try , whether the two Houses would incline to a reasonable Peace ; and to that purpose sent a Message to them by an express Servant of his own , in these words :

“ Since his Majesty’s Message of the 12th of *April* (in which he conceived he had made such an Overture for the immediate disbanding of all Armies , and compofure of those miserable , and present Distractions , by a full and free Convention of Parliament , that a perfect and settled Peace would have ensued) hath in all this time , above a full Month , procured no Answer from both Houses , his Majesty might well believe himself absolved , both before God and Man , from the least possible Charge of not having used his utmost endeavours for Peace ; yet , when he considers , that the Scene of all this Calamity is in the Bowels of his own Kingdom ; that all the blood , which is spilt , is of his own Subjects ; and that what Victory soever , it shall please God to give him , must be over those who ought not to have lifted up their hands against Him ; when he considers , that these desperate Civil Diffensions may encourage and invite a Foreign Enemy . to make a Prey of the whole Nation ; that *Ireland* is in present danger to be totally lost ; that the heavy Judgments

The King
sends a Mes-
sage to the
two Houses
May 20.

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“ of God, Plague, Pestilence, and Famine, will
 “ be the inevitable attendants of this unnatural Con-
 “ tention: And that in a short time, there will be
 “ so general a habit of Uncharitableness, and Cruelty,
 “ contracted through the whole Kingdom, that
 “ even Peace itself will not restore his People to
 “ their old Temper, and Security; his Majesty
 “ cannot but again call for an Answer to that his
 “ gracious Message, which gives so fair a rise to end
 “ these unnatural distractions. And his Majesty
 “ doth this with the more earnestness, because he
 “ doubts not the condition of his Armies in several
 “ parts; the strength of Horse, Foot, Artillery,
 “ his plenty of Ammunition (when some Men lately
 “ might conceive he wanted) is so well known,
 “ and understood, that it must be confessed, nothing
 “ but the tenderness, and love to his People, and
 “ those Christian impressions, which always live,
 “ and he hopes always shall dwell in his heart, could
 “ move him once more to hazard a refusal. And he
 “ requires them, as they will Answer to God, to
 “ Himself, and all the World, that they will no
 “ longer suffer their fellow Subjects to welter in each
 “ other’s blood; that they would remember by whose
 “ Authority, and to what end they met in that
 “ Council, and send such an Answer to his Majesty,
 “ as may open a door to let in a firm Peace, and
 “ Security to the whole Kingdom. If his Majesty
 “ shall again be disappointed of his Intentions there-
 “ in, the blood, rapine, and destruction, which
 “ may follow in *England*, and *Ireland*, will be cast

“ upon the Account of those who are deaf to the
 “ motive of Peace and Accommodation.”

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This Message was received by the House of Peers (to whom it was directed) with all demonstration of respect, and duty, and the Messenger very civilly treated by them; but when they communicated it to the House of Commons, and desired their concurrence in preparing an Address to the King suitable to his gracious Invitation, that House was so far from concurring with them, that they gave immediate Order (which was executed accordingly) for the Apprehension, and Commitment of the Gentleman who brought the Message; and declared, “ that
 “ they would proceed against him at a Council of
 “ War,” upon the Order formerly mentioned, made by them when the Treaty was at *Oxford*, “ that any Person coming from *Oxford* without their
 “ General’s Pass, or one from the Houses, should
 “ be punished as a Spy;” to which Order as the Peers never consented, so the King had never, till this Commitment, notice of it; and Themselves, after the making it, had sent several Messengers to the King, without any formality of Pass or Trumpet.

The House
 of Commons
 commit the
 Messenger.

The Lords did what they could, publicly and privately, to dissuade this course; but they could not prevail: the House of Commons finding that the very imagination that a Peace might be concluded, infinitely retarded their carrying on the War, and made not only those who were yet free, not easy to be drawn in; but many who were engaged, remiss, and willing to retire; therefore they resolved to proceed with that Vigor, and Resolution, that no

BOOK VII. reasonable Man should believe it possible for the King to gain a Peace but by Subduing Them, which seemed at least equally impossible. To this purpose, instead of returning an Answer to the King's Message, within three days after the receiving it, they impeached the Queen of High-Treason, "for Assisting the King her Husband with Arms, and Ammunition, in the prosecution of the War against Them;" an Attempt as unheard of among all the Acts of their Predecessors, and as surprising as any thing they had yet ventured upon: Their Clergy sounded their Trumpets louder to War than ever, if it was possible; and they resolved, that Assembly of Divines to which they had at the Treaty urged the King's consent, should now meet by an Ordinance of their own, with an Addition of some Members of either House to that Number.

There had been, some Months before, a design of Prince *Rupert* upon the City of *Bristol*, by correspondence with some of the chief Inhabitants of the City, who were weary of the Tyranny of the Parliament; but it had been so unskilfully, or unhappily carried, that, when the Prince was near the Town, with such a Party of Horse and Foot, as he made choice of, it was discovered, and many Principal Citizens apprehended by *Nathaniel Fiennes*, Son to the Lord *Sey*, and then Governor of that City for the Parliament; at this time, special direction and order was sent thither, "that he should, with all severity, and expedition, proceed against those Conspirators" (as they called them) and thereupon, by a Sentence and Judgment of a Council of War,

The Commons
impeach the
Queen of High-
Treason.

Alderman *Teomans*, who had been High-Sheriff of the City, and of great Reputation in it, and *George Bouchier* another Citizen of principal Account, were (against all Interposition his Majesty could make) both hanged, and all other imaginable Acts done, to let all the world see that there was no way to Peace but by the Sword.

There fell out now an accident at *London*, which gave great advantage to them in the fierce prosecution of the War, a discovery of a Plot, which produced a public thanksgiving to God for their deliverance, a wonderful Animosity against the King, and a Covenant, and Union among Themselves, and throughout the City a prejudice to all Moderate Men, who promoted an Accommodation, and a Brand upon all Overtures of Peace as Stratagems upon the City, and the Parliament. Of this Plot, there being never such a formed relation made by those who made great use of it, that Men can collect what the design was, or that it was laid with any probable circumstances, by which a success might be expected, I shall briefly, and faithfully set down all that I know, have heard, or can reasonably conjecture to be in it; and it was thought by many, and averred by others who I believe did Not think so, "that I knew as much of it as most Men."

There was of the House of Commons, one Mr. *Waller*, a Gentleman of a very good Fortune and Estate, and of admirable parts, and faculties of Wit and Eloquence, and of an intimate Conversation, and familiarity with those who had that Reputation. He had, from the beginning of the Parliament, been

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A design
discovered at
London,
wherein Mr.
Waller, Mr.
Tomkins, and
Others, were
concerned.

BOOK VII. looked upon by all Men, as a Person of very entire Affections to the King's Service, and to the established Government of Church and State; and by having no manner of relation to the Court, had the more credit and interest to promote the rights of it. When the ruptures grew so great between the King and the two Houses, that very many of the Members withdrew from those Councils, He, among the rest, with equal dislike absented himself; but at the time the Standard was set up, having intimacy and friendship with some Persons now of nearness about the King, with the King's Approbation, he returned again to *London*; where he spoke, upon all occasions, with great sharpness, and freedom; which (now there were so few there that used it, and there was no danger of being over Voted) was not restrained; and therefore used as an Argument against those, who were gone upon pretence "that they were not" suffered to declare their opinion freely in the "House; which could not be believed, when all" Men knew, what Liberty Mr. *Waller* took, and "spoke every day with impunity, against the Sense, "and Proceedings of the House." This won him a great Reputation with all People who wished well to the King; and he was looked upon as the boldest Champion the Crown had in both Houses; so that such Lords, and Commons, as really desired to prevent the ruin of the Kingdom, willingly complied in a great familiarity with him, as a Man resolute in their ends, and best able to promote them. And it may be they believed his Reputation at Court so good, that he would be no ill Evidence There, of

other Men's Zeal, and Affection; and so all Men spoke their minds freely to him, both of the general distemper, and of the passions, and ambition of particular Persons: All Men knowing him to be of too good a Fortune, and too wary a Nature, to engage himself in designs of danger or hazard.

Mr. Waller had a Brother-in-Law, one Mr. *Tomkins*, who had married his Sister, and was Clerk of the Queen's Council, of very good fame for Honesty, and Ability. This Gentleman had good Interest, and Reputation in the City, and conversed much with those who disliked the proceedings of the Parliament, and wished to live under the same Government they were born; and from those Citizens received information of the temper of the People, upon Accidents, in the public Affairs. And Mr. *Waller*, and He, with that confidence that uses to be between Brethren of the same good Affections, frequently imparted their observations, and opinions to each other; the one relating, how many in both Houses inclined to Peace; and the other making the same judgment upon the correspondence he had, and intelligence he received from the most substantial Men of *London*; and both of them again communicated what one received from the other, to the Company they used to converse with; Mr. *Waller* imparting the wishes, and power of the well affected Party in the City, to the Lords and Gentlemen whom he knew to be of the same mind; and Mr. *Tomkins* acquainting those he durst trust of the City, that such and such Lords and Gentlemen, who were of special Note, were weary of the distractions, and

B O O K would heartily, and confidently contribute to such
VII. an honorable, and honest Peace, as all Men knew
 would be most acceptable to the King. And from
 hence they came reasonably to a conclusion, that if
 some means were found out to raise a confidence in
 those who wished well, that they should not be op-
 pressed by the extravagant power of the desperate
 Party; but that if they would so far assist one another,
 as to declare their opinions to be the same, they
 should be able to prevent, or suppress those Tumults,
 which seemed to countenance the distractions; and
 the Houses would be induced to Terms of Mo-
 deration.

In this time the Lord *Conway*, being returned from
Ireland, incensed against the *Scots*, and discontented
 with the Parliament here, finding Mr. *Waller* in good
 esteem with the Earl of *Northumberland*, and of great
 Friendship with the Earl of *Portland*, he entered into
 the same familiarity; and, being more of a Soldier,
 in the discourses administered questions, and consi-
 derations, necessary to be understood by Men that
 either meant to Use force, or to Resist it; and wished
 “ that they who had Interest, and Acquaintance in the
 “ City, would endeavour by a natural correspond-
 “ ence to inform themselves of the distinct Affect-
 “ ions of their Neighbours, that upon any exigent,
 “ Men might foresee whom they might trust;” and
 these discourses being again derived by Mr. *Waller* to
 Mr. *Tomkins*, He, upon occasion, and conference
 with his Companions, insisted on the same Argu-
 ments; and They again conversing with Their
 Friends, and Acquaintance (for of all this business,

there|were not above three who ever spoke together) agreed, “ that some well affected Persons , in every “ Parish , and Ward, about *London* , should make a “ list of all the Inhabitants; and thereupon to make a “ reasonable guess of their several Affections” (which at that time was no hard thing for observing Men to do) and thence a computation of the Strength , and Power of that Party, which was notoriously Violent against any Accommodation.

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I am persuaded the utmost project in this design was (I speak not what particular Men might intend, or wish upon their own fancies) to beget such a Combination among the Party well affected , that they would refuse to conform to those Ordinances of the twentieth part , and other Taxes for the support of the War; and thereby , or by joint Petitioning for Peace, and discountenancing the other who Petitioned against it, to prevail with the Parliament to incline to a determination of the War. And it may be , some Men might think of making advantage of any Casual Commotion , or preventing any mischief by it ; and thereupon that inquiry where the Magazines lay , and discourse of wearing some distinguishing tokens, had been rather casually mentioned, than seriously proposed. For it is certain , very many who were conscious to themselves of Loyal Purposes to the King , and of hearty dislike of the Parliament's proceedings, and observed the violent , revengeful, ruining prosecution of all Men , by those of the engaged Party ; were not without sad apprehensions that, upon some Jealousy, and Quarrel picked, even a general Massacre might be attempted of all the

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King's Friends; and thereupon, in several discourses, might touch upon such expedients, as might in those Seasons be most beneficial to their safety. But that there was ever any formed design, either of letting in the King's Army into *London*, which was impossible to be contrived; or of raising an Army there, and surprizing the Parliament, or any one Person of it, or of using any violence in, or upon the City, I could never yet see cause to believe; and if there had, they would have published such a relation of it, after Mr. *Waller* had confessed to them, all he knew, had heard, or fancied to himself, as might have constituted some reasonable understanding, of it; and not have contented themselves with making conclusions from Questions that had been asked and Answers made, by Persons unknown, and forcing expressions used by one, to relate to Actions of another, between whom there had been never the least acquaintance, or correspondence; and joining what was Said at *London* to somewhat Done at *Oxford*, at another time, and to another purpose: for before I finish this discourse, it will be necessary to speak of another Action, which, how distinct soever from this that is related, was woven together to make one Plot.

From the King's coming to *Oxford*, many Citizens of good Quality, who were prosecuted, or jealously looked upon in *London*, had resorted to the King, and hoping, if the Winter produced not a Peace, that the Summer would carry the King before that City with an Army, they had entertained some discourse "of raising, upon their own Stocks of Money" and Credit, some Regiments of Foot, and Horse,

“ and joining with some Gentlemen of *Kent*, who
 “ were likewise inclined to such an undertaking :”
 Among these was Sir *Nicholas Crisp*, a Citizen of good
 Wealth, great Trade, and an active spirited Man,
 who had been lately prosecuted with great severity
 by the House of Commons, and had thereupon fled
 from *London*, for appearing too great a Stickler in a
 Petition for Peace in the City. This Gentleman in-
 dustriously preserved a correspondence still there,
 by which he gave the King often very useful Intelli-
 gence, and assured him “ of a very considerable
 “ Party, which would appear there for him, when-
 “ ever his own power should be so near, as to give
 “ them any countenance.” In the end, whether in-
 vited by his Correspondents there, or trusting his
 own sprightly inclinations and resolutions too much,
 and concluding all who were equally Honest, would
 be equally Bold, he desired his Majesty, “ to grant
 “ a Commission to such Persons, whom He would
 “ nominate of the City of *London*, under the Great
 “ Seal of *England*, in the nature of a Commission of
 “ Array, by virtue whereof, when the Season should
 “ come, his Party there would appear in discipline,
 “ and order; and that this was desired by those, who
 “ best knew what Countenance and Authority was
 “ requisite; and being trusted to them would not be
 “ executed at all, or else at such a time as his Majesty
 “ should receive ample fruit by it; provided it were
 “ done with secrecy, equal to the hazard They
 “ should run who were employed in it.”

The King had this exception to it, “ the impro-
 “ bability that it could do good, and that the failing

BOOK VII. “ might do hurt to the Undertakers.” But the Promoter was a very Popular Man in the City, where he had been a Commander of the Trained-bands, till the Ordinance of the Militia removed him; which rather improved, than lessened, his Credit; and he was very confident, it would produce a notable advantage to the King: however, They desired it who were there, and would not appear without it; and therefore the King consented to it; referring the nomination of all Persons in the Commission to him; who, he verily believed, had proceeded by the Instruction, and Advice of those that were nearest the concernment; and for the secrecy of it, the King referred the preparing, and dispatch of the Commission, to Sir *Nicholas Crisp* himself, who should acquaint no more with it, than he found requisite; so without the privity, or advice of any Counsellor, or Minister of State then most trusted by his Majesty, he procured such a Commission as he desired (being no other than the Commission of Array in *English*) to be signed by the King, and sealed with the Great-Seal.

This being done, and remaining still in his Custody, the Lady *Aubigney*, by a Pass, and with the consent of the Houses, came to *Oxford*, to transact the Affairs of her own Fortune with the King upon the death of her Husband, who was killed at *Edge.hill*; and She having in few days despatched her business there, and being ready to return, Sir *Nicholas Crisp* came to the King, and besought him, “ to desire that Lady (who had a Pass, and so could promise herself safety in her Journey) to carry a small Box (in which that Commission should be) “ with her, and to keep it
in

“ in her own Custody, until a Gentleman should
 “ call to her Ladyship for it, by such a token;” that
 token, he said, “ he could send to one of the Persons
 “ trusted, who should keep it by him, till the op-
 “ portunity came in which it might be executed.”
 The King accordingly wished the Lady *Aubigny*, to
 carry it with great care and secrecy; telling her, “ it
 “ much concerned his own Service;” and to deliver
 it in such manner, and upon such Assurance, as is
 before mentioned: which she did, and, within few
 days after her return to *London*, delivered it to a
 Person who was appointed to call for it. How this
 Commission was discovered, I could never learn:
 for though Mr. *Waller* had the Honor to be admitted
 often to that Lady, and was believed by Her to be a
 Gentleman of most entire Affections to the King’s
 Service, and consequently might be fitly trusted with
 what she knew, yet her Ladyship herself not knowing
 what it was she carried, could not inform any
 Body else.

But about this time, a Servant of Mr. *Tomkins*,
 who had often cursorily overheard his Master and
 Mr. *Waller* discourse of the Argument, We are now
 upon, placed himself behind a hanging, at a time
 they were together; and there, whilst either of them
 discoursed the language, and opinion of the Com-
 pany they kept, overheard enough to make him
 believe his Information, and Discovery, would make
 him welcome to those whom he thought concerned;
 and so went to Mr. *Pym*, and acquainted him with
 all he had heard, or probably imagined. The time
 when Mr. *Pym* was made acquainted with it, is not

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known; but the circumstances of the publishing it were such, as filled all Men with Apprehensions. It was on *Wednesday* the 31st of *May*, their solemn fast-day, when, being all at their Sermon, in *St. Margaret's Church* in *Westminster*; according to their custom, a Letter or Message is brought privately to *Mr. Pym*; who thereupon, with some of the most active Members, rise from their Seats; and, after a little whispering together, remove out of the Church: This could not but exceedingly affect those who stayed behind; immediately they send Guards to all the Prisons, as *Lambeth House*, *Ely-House*, and such places, where their Malignants were in Custody, with directions "to search the Prisoners; and some other places which they thought fit should be suspected. After the Sermons were ended the Houses met; and were only then told, " that Letters were intercepted going to the King and the Court at *Oxford*, " that expressed some notable Conspiracy in hand, " to deliver up the Parliament, and the City into the " hands of the Cavaliers; and that the time for the " execution of it, drew very near." Hereupon a Committee was appointed " to examine all Persons " They thought fit: and to apprehend some nominated at that time." And the same Night, this Committee apprehended *Mr. Waller*, and *Mr. Tomlins*; and the next day, such others as they suspected.

Mr. Waller was so confounded with Fear, and Apprehension, that he confessed whatever he had said, heard, thought, or seen; all that he knew of himself, and all that he suspected of others; without concealing any Person of what Degree, or Quality

soever, or any discourse that he had ever, upon any occasion, entertained with them: What such and such Ladies of great Honour, to whom, upon the Credit of his great Wit, and very good Reputation, he had been admitted, had spoke to him in their Chambers of the proceedings in the Houses; and how they had encouraged him to oppose them, what correspondence, and intercourse they had, with some Ministers of State at *Oxford*; and how they derived all Intelligence thither. He informed them, “that the Earl of *Portland*, and the Lord *Conway*, “had been particular in all the agitations which had “been with the Citizens; and had given frequent “Advice, and Directions, how they should demean “themselves; and that the Earl of *Northumberland*, “had expressed very good wishes to any attempt, “that might give a stop to the Violent Actions, and “Proceedings of the Houses, and produce a good “Understanding with the King.”

When the Committee were thus furnished, they took the examinations of Mr. *Tomkins*, and such others as they thought necessary, and having at the same time, by some other means, discovered (or concealed it till this time) that Commission which is before discoursed of, and gotten the very Original into their hands, they kneaded both into one Plot, and Conspiracy; and, acquainting the Houses with so much as they thought yet seasonable to publish, they declared (without naming any Lords, or other Persons, to be interested in the design, save those only who were imprisoned; among whom the Lady *Aubigny* was one: and without communicating any

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of the examinations, which, they pretended, were not to be common till the Conspirators were brought to Trial) “ that the Original of this Conspiracy was “ from the late *London* Petition for Peace, which was spoken of about *Christmas* last in the Book precedent; ‘ and that. under pretence of Peace and “ Moderation, a Party was to be formed, which “ should be able to suppress all opponents, and to “ awe the Parliament: That, to this purpose, some “ of those who were the principal Movers, and Fomenters of that Petition, did continue, in the “ Nature of a Committee, still to carry on the “ design: that they held Intelligence in both Armies, Court and Parliament; took a general Survey of the Numbers, and Affections of the several “ Inhabitants throughout the Wards, and Parishes “ of the City, and places adjacent; and distinguished “ all under the titles of Men affected, or averse to “ the King; or indifferent, and Neutral Persons, “ carried only by the success, and power of the Prevailers: That they were well instructed in the “ Number, and inclinations of the Trained-bands “ of *London*; the Places where the Magazines were “ kept, where the Commanders for the Parliament “ dwelt; had thought of places for Rendezvous, “ and Retreat, upon any occasion, and of Colors, “ and Marks of distinction between the different “ Parties.

“ That Mr. *Waller* and Mr. *Tomkins* were the “ principal Persons, employed, and trusted to give “ advertisement to, and correspond with, the King’s “ Ministers at *Oxford*; and receive advertisements

“ and Commands from thence, for the completing
 “ the work; that they Two held constant Intelli-
 “ gence, and Intercourse with the Lord *Falkland*
 “ then principal Secretary to the King; and that,
 “ from Him, they received the signification of the
 “ King’s pleasure; and that those Directions, Coun-
 “ sels, and Encouragements, had been principally
 “ sent by those Messengers which had been em-
 “ ployed by his Majesty to the Parliament, under
 “ the pretence of Peace; and, especially, by Mr.
 “ *Alexander Hamlden*; who came with the last Mes-
 “ sager, and was a Cousin-german to Mr. *Waller*.
 “ That the Lady *Aubigney*, who had been lately at
 “ *Oxford*, had brought thence a Commission to them
 “ from the King, by force of Arms to destroy, kill,
 “ and slay the Forces, raised by the Parliament and
 “ their Adherents, as Traytors and Rebels; and
 “ that they had lately sent a Message to *Oxford* by
 “ one *Hoffel*, a Servant of the King’s to acquaint the
 “ Lord *Falkland*, that the design was come to a good
 “ perfection; unto which, Answer was returned,
 “ that they should hasten it with all speed.”

“ That the particulars of the Design appeared to
 “ be: 1. To seize into their Custody the King’s
 “ Children: 2. To seize several Members of both
 “ Houses, the Lord-Mayor, and Committee of the
 “ Militia, under pretence of bringing them to a legal
 “ Trial. 3. To seize upon the Out-works, Forts,
 “ Tower of *London*, Magazines, Gates, and other
 “ places of importance in the City. 4. To let in the
 “ King’s Forces to surprize the City, and to destroy
 “ all those who should oppose them by Authority of

BOOK " the Parliament. 5. By force of Arms to resist all
 " VII. " payments imposed by Authority of Parliament,
 " raised for the support of the Armies employed for
 " their just defence, &c. to suspend, if not alter the
 " whole Government of the City, and with Assist-
 " ance of the King's Force, to awe, and master the
 " Parliament "

When both Houses were awakened, and startled with this report, the first thing agreed on, was, " a day of thanksgiving to God for this wonderful
 " delivery;" which shut out any future doubts, and disquisitions, whether there had been any such delivery; and, consequently, whether their Plot was in truth, or had been so framed. Then it was said, " as the design was the most desperate,
 " to the carriage was the most subtle, and among
 " Persons of Reputation, and not suspected; and
 " that there was reason to suspect, many Members
 " of both Houses were privy to it; and therefore
 " there ought to be all possible care taken to make
 " the discovery perfect, and to unite themselves for
 " the public defence: that if any part were left un-
 " discovered, it might prove fatal to the Common-
 " wealth." This finding a full consent, it was pro-
 " pounded, " that a Protestation might be drawn up,
 " by which every Member of the two Houses might
 " purge himself from any guilt of, or privity in,
 " that conspiracy; and likewise oblige himself to
 " resist, and oppose any such Combination " They
 who were under the Character of Moderate Men, and usually advanced all motions of Peace, and Accommodation, durst not oppose the Expedient,

lest they should be concluded guilty ; most of them having had familiarity with Mr. *Waller*, and, no doubt, upon sundry occasions, spoken with that freedom to him, as might very well incur a severe Interpretation, if, upon this occasion, what they had said should be scanned. And so, before the rising, there was framed by the House of Commons a Vow and Covenant to be taken by the Members of both Houses, and afterwards by the City, and their Army ; for their Jealousy was now spread over all their own Quarters ; which Covenant, for the rareness of it both in Title and Style, I think necessary here to insert in the very terms ; which were these :

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A Vow and
Covenant
agreed to be
taken by the
Members of
both Houses
upon discovery
of that design

A Sacred Vow, and Covenant, taken by the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament, upon the discovery of the late horrid and treacherous design, for the destruction of this Parliament and the Kingdom: the 6th of June 1643.

“ Whereas there hath been, and now is, in this
“ Kingdom, a Popish, and Trayterous Plot for the
“ Subversion of the true Protestant Reformed Reli-
“ gion, and the Liberty of the Subject; and, in
“ pursuance thereof, a Popish Army hath been raised
“ and is now on foot in divers parts of this Kingdom;
“ and whereas there hath been a treacherous and
“ horrid design, lately discovered by the great bles-
“ sing and especial providence of God, of divers
“ Persons, to join themselves with the Armies
“ raised by the King, and to destroy the Forces
“ raised by the Lords and Commons in Parliament,
“ to surprize the Cities of *London* and *Westminster*

BOOK VII. “ with the Suburbs; by Arms to force the Parlia-
 “ ment; and finding by constant experience, that
 “ many ways of force, and treachery, are conti-
 “ nually attempted, to bring to utter ruin and des-
 “ truction the Parliament, and Kingdom; and that
 “ which is dearest, the true Protestant Religion:
 “ And that, for the preventing and withstanding
 “ the same, it is fit, that all, who are true-hearted,
 “ and lovers of their Country, should bind them-
 “ selves each to other in a sacred Vow and Covenant.
 “ I *A. B.* in humil^{ty} and reverence of the Divine
 “ Majesty, declare my hearty sorrow for my own
 “ Sins, and the Sins of this Nation, which have
 “ deserved the Calamities and Judgments, that
 “ now lie upon it: and my true Intention is, by
 “ God’s grace, to endeavour the amendment of my
 “ own ways; and I do farther, in the presence of
 “ Almighty God, Declare, Vow, and Covenant,
 “ that, in order to the security and preservation of
 “ the true Reformed Protestant Religion, and
 “ Liberty of the Subject, I will not consent to the
 “ laying down of Arms, so long as the Papists,
 “ now in open War against the Parliament, shall by
 “ force of Arms be protected from the Justice there-
 “ of. And that I do abhor and detest the said wicked,
 “ and treacherous design, lately discovered: And
 “ that I never gave, nor will give my Assent to the
 “ execution thereof, but will, according to my
 “ Power, and Vocation, oppose and resist the
 “ same, and all other of the like Nature. And in
 “ case any other like design shall hereafter come to
 “ my knowledge, I will make such timely discovery,

“ as I shall conceive may best conduce to the pre-
 “ venting thereof. And whereas I do in my con-
 “ science believe, that the Forces, raised by the
 “ two Houses of Parliament, are raised, and con-
 “ tinued for their just Defence, and for the Defence
 “ of the true Protestant Religion, and Liberty of
 “ the Subject, against the Forces raised by the King;
 “ that I will, according to my Power, and Voca-
 “ tion, assist the Forces raised and continued, by
 “ both Houses of Parliament, against the Forces
 “ raised by the King without Their consent: And
 “ will likewise assist all other Persons that shall take
 “ this Oath, in what they shall do in pursuance
 “ thereof; and will not directly, or indirectly, ad-
 “ here unto, nor shall willingly assist the Forces
 “ raised by the King, without the Consent of both
 “ Houses of Parliament. And this Vow, and Cove-
 “ nant, I make in the presence of Almighty God,
 “ the Searcher of all hearts, with a true Intention to
 “ perform the same, as I shall Answer at the great
 “ day, when the secrets of all hearts shall be
 “ disclosed.”

Though many were much startled at this Cove-
 nant, and took time to consider of it, there being
 in the Preamble, and positive part, much which
 very few believed, and in the promissory part a
 more direct denouncing War against the King, than
 had been in plain terms before avowed by them,
 and an absolute Protestation against Peace, till the
 King were at their Mercy; yet the fear of being con-
 cluded guilty of the Plot, made them swallow all
 the rest; and the example of one prevailing with

B O O K many, there was not a Member of either House that
 VII. took it not; and being thus fettered, and intangled
 themselves, they sent their Committee into the City,
 to acquaint them with their happy discovery,
 “ and how miraculously God had preserved them,
 “ and to engage them in the same sacred Vow, and

The same Vow
 and Covenant
 taken
 throughout
 the City, and
 Army.

“ Covenant, which was readily submitted to; and,
 by the Industry of their Clergy, sooner than can be
 imagined, taken throughout that People. Then it
 was, with equal diligence, and solemnity, trans-
 mitted to their Army, that their Fears of Inconve-
 nience from thence might be likewise purged; and
 thence it grew the mark of distinction, to know their
 Friends and Enemies by; and whosoever refused to
 take that Covenant, needed no other Charge to be
 concluded, and prosecuted, as the highest Malignant.

The Trial, and
 Execution of
 Mr. Tomkins,
 and Mr.
 Chaloner.

Being this way secure from any future Clamors
 for Peace, they proceeded to try Mr. *Tomkins*;
 Mr. *Chaloner*, a Citizen of good Wealth and Credit,
 and most intimate with *Tomkins*; Mr. *Hambden*,
 who brought the last Message from the King; one
Hassel a Messenger of the King's, who passed often
 between *London* and *Oxford*, and sometimes carried
 Letters and Messages to the Lord *Falkland*; and some
 Citizens, whose names were in the Commission sent
 from *Oxford*; by a Council of War; by whom Mr.
Tomkins, and Mr. *Chaloner* were Condemned to be
 hanged; and were both, with all circumstances of
 severity, and cruelty, executed: the One, on a
 Gibbet, by his own House in *Holborn*; where he
 had long lived with singular estimation; and the
 Other, by his House in *Cornhill*, near the old *Exchange*.

Hissel the Messenger saved them farther trouble, and died in Prison the night before his Trial: And there being no evidence against Mr. *Hambden*, but what Mr. *Waller* himself gave, they gave no judgment against Him, but kept him long after in Prison, till he died; neither proceeded they Capitally against those Citizens whose names were in the Commission, it not appearing that their names were used with their consent, and privity; though the brand of being Malignants served the turn for their undoing; for all their Estates were seized, as theirs were who had been executed.

There is nothing clearer than that the Commission sent from *Oxford* by the Lady *Aubigney*, had not any relation to the discourse passed between Mr. *Waller*, *Tomkins*, and those Citizens, or that they, who knew of one, had nor any privity with the other: which if they had had, and intended such an Insurrection, as was alledged, Mr. *Waller*, and Mr. *Tomkins*, or some one of those Lords who were supposed to combine with them, would have been in the Commission. Or if the King's Ministers had been engaged in the consultation, and hoped to have raised a Party which should suddenly seize upon the City, and the Parliament, they would never have thought a Commission granted to some Gentlemen at *Oxford* (for the Major part of the Commissioners were there) and a few private Citizens, would have served for that work. I am very confident, and I have very much reason for that confidence, that there was no more known, or thought of at *Oxford*, concerning the matter of the Commission,

B O O K than I have before set forth, nor of the other,
VII. than that Mr. *Tomkins* sometimes writ to the Lord *Falkland* (for Mr. *Waller*, out of the cautiousness of his own Nature, never writ word) and by Messengers signified to him, "that the Number of those
 " who desired Peace, and abhorred the proceedings of the Houses, was very considerable; and
 " that they resolved, by refusing to contribute to the War, and to submit to their Ordinances, to
 " declare and manifest themselves in that manner,
 " that the Violent Party in the City should not have
 " credit enough to hinder any Accommodation." And the Lord *Falkland* always returned Answer, "that they should expedite those Expedients, as
 " soon as might be, for that delays made the War
 " more difficult to be restrained." And if I could find Evidence, or Reason, to induce me to believe, that there was any farther design in the thing itself, or that the King gave farther countenance to it, I should not at all conceal it. No Man can imagine, that if the King could have entertained any probable hope of reducing *London*, which was the Fomentor and Supporter, and indeed the Life of the War, or could have found any expedient, from whence he could reasonably propose to dissolve, scatter, and disperse those who, under the name of a Parliament, had kindled a War against him, but he would have given his utmost assistance, and countenance thereunto, either by public Force, or private Contrivance.

There were very great endeavours used, to have proceeded with equal severity against the Earl of *Portland*, and the Lord *Conway* (for the accusation

of the Earl of *Northumberland*, it was proceeded tenderly in; for though the Violent Party was heartily incensed against him as a Man weary of them, yet his Reputation was still very great) who were both close Prisoners; and, to that purpose, their Lordships and Mr. *Waller* were confronted before the Committee. where They as peremptorily denying, as He charging them, and there being no other Witness but He against them, the prosecution was rather let alone than declined, till after a long restraint they procured enlargement upon Bail. Mr. *Waller* himself (though confessedly the most guilty; and by his unhappy demeanour, in this time of his Affliction, he had raised as many Enemies as he had formerly Friends, and almost the same) after he had, with incredible dissimulation, acted such a remorse of Conscience, that his Trial was put off out of Christian compassion, till he might recover his understanding (and that was not, till the heat, and fury of the Prosecutors, was reasonably abated with the Sacrifices they had made) and, by drawing Visitants to himself, of the most powerful Ministers of all Factions, had, by his liberality, and penitence, his receiving vulgar and vile sayings from them with humility, and reverence, as clearer Convictions and Informations than in his Life he had ever had; and distributing great Sums to them for their Prayers, and Ghostly Counsel, so satisfied Them, that They satisfied others; was brought, at his suit, to the House of Commons-Bar; where (being a Man in truth very powerful in Language; and who, by What he spoke, and in the Manner of speaking it,

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exceedingly captivated the good Will and Benevolence of his hearers; which is the highest part of an Orator) with such flattery, as was most exactly calculated to that Meridian, with such a Submission, as Their Pride took delight in, and such dejection of mind, and spirit, as was like to cozen the Major part, and be thought serious; he laid before them
 “ their own danger, and concernment; if they
 “ should suffer one of their own Body, how unworthy and monstrous soever, to be tried by the
 “ Soldiers, who might thereby grow to that power
 “ hereafter, that they would both try those, They
 “ would not be willing should be tried, and for
 “ things, which they would account No Crimes;
 “ the inconvenience, and insupportable mischief
 “ whereof, all wise Common wealths had foreseen,
 “ and prevented, by exempting their own Members
 “ from all judgments but their own: He prevailed,
 Not to be tried by a Council of War; and then by preserved his dear-bought Life; so that, in truth, he does as much owe the Keeping his head to that Oration as *Catiline* did the Loss of His to those of *Tully*; and by having done Ill very well, he, by degrees, drew that respect to his parts, which always carries some compassion to the Person, that he got leave to compound for his transgression, and them to accept of ten thousand pounds (which their Affairs wanted) for his liberty; whereupon he had leave to recollect himself in another Country for his Liberty was to be in Banishment) how miserable he had made himself, in obtaining that leave to live out of his own. And there cannot be a greater Evidence

of the inestimable Value of his Parts, than that he lived, after this, in the good Affection, and Esteem of many, the pity of most, and the reproach, and scorn of few, or none.

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These high proceedings, at *London*, and in the Houses, were not seconded with any notable success abroad: but it appeared plainly, by the flow coming in of Monies, and more flow coming in of Men, that the hearts of the People were generally more devoted to Peace, than to the continuance of those distractions; and the Earl of *Essex*, by the great decay, and sickness of his Army, was not in near six weeks, able to remove from *Reading*; by which many Men concluded, which could not be reasonably foreseen, that if *Reading* had held out many days longer, he would have been compelled to raise his Siege; and that was the reason the Earl gave for granting so good conditions: for if he could have stayed longer before it, he well knew, they must have yielded on worse terms; neither feared he the King would be able to relieve it. In the end, there being no other way to quiet the City of *London*, he marched towards *Oxford*; but, in truth, rather to secure *Buckinghamshire*, which was now infested by the King's Horse, than to disquiet that place. And to that purpose, he fixed his head Quarter at *Thame*, ten Miles from *Oxford*, and upon the very edge of the other County.

The Earl of
Essex marches
to Thame.

In the beginning of the War, the Army in *Scotland* having been lately disbanded, many Officers of that Nation, who had served in *Germany* and in *France*, betook themselves to the Service of the Parliament;

B O O K whereof divers were Men of good Conduct, and
VII. Courage; though there were more as bad as the Cause in which they engaged. Of the former sort Colonel *Urry* was a Man of Name, and Reputation, and an excellent Officer of Horse, and had Commanded those Horse at *Edge Hill* under *Balfour*, which had preserved their Army there; and finding himself afterwards not so well regarded, as, he thought, he had deserved, as it was no easy thing to value that People at the rate they did set upon themselves; and being without any other Affection for their Service, than their Pay inclined him to, he resolved to quit them, and to go to the King; in order to which, he had kept some correspondence with the Earl of *Brainford* the King's General; under whose Command he had formerly served in *Germany*. Whilst the Earl of *Essex* remained at *Thame*, and his Army Quartered thereabout, *Urry* came to *Oxford*, in the Equipage that became a Colonel of Horse who had received good Pay; and the very next day after he came, having been very graciously received by the King. to give proof that he brought his whole heart with him, he went to Prince *Rupert*, acquainted him where the Parliament-Horse lay, and how loose they were in their Quarters; and to give a testimony of his fidelity to the King, he desired to march a Volunteer with a good Party, to make an attempt upon the Enemy; and the Prince assigning a strong Party for the Service, he accompanied, and conducted them out of the Common-Road, till they came to a Town, where a Regiment of the Parliament's Horse was Quartered; which they beat
up;

up; and killed, or took most of the Officers and Soldiers; and then fell upon those other Quarters, by which they had passed before, with the like success; so returned to *Oxford* with many Prisoners, and with notable damage to the Enemy.

As soon as he returned, he made another Proposition to the Prince for the Attacking the Quarters near *Thame*; through which he had passed, when he came to *Oxford*, and so was well acquainted with the posture in which they were, and assured the Prince, "that, if he went about it time enough, before there should be any alteration in their Quarters, which he believed the General would quickly

"make, the Enterprize would be worthy of it." The Prince was so well satisfied with what he had already done, that he resolved to conduct the next adventure himself, which he did very fortunately. They went out of the Ports of *Oxford* in the Evening upon a *Saturday*, and marched beyond all the Quarters as far as *Wickham*, and fell in there at the farther end of the Town towards *London*, from whence no Enemy was expected, and so no Guards were kept There. A Regiment of Horse, and of Foot, were Lodged there; which were cut off, or taken Prisoners; and all the Horses and a good Booty brought away. From thence they marched backward to another Quarter, within less than two Miles of the General's own Quarters; where his Men Lodged with the same security, they had done at *Wickham*, not expecting any Enemy that way; and so met with the same fate the others had done; and were all killed, or made Prisoners. Thus having

Prince Rupert
beats up some
of his Quarters
with good
success.

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performed, at least as much as they had proposed to do, and being laden with Prisoners, and Booty, and the Sun being now Rising, the Prince thought it time to retire to *Oxford*, and gave Orders to march accordingly with all convenient speed, till they should come to a Bridge which was yet two Miles from them, where he had appointed a Guard to attend, to favor their Retreat.

But the Alarm had been brought to the Earl of *Essex* from all the Quarters, who quickly gathered those Troops together, which were nearest; and directed those to follow the Prince, and to entertain him in Skirmishes, till Himself should come up with the Foot, and some other Troops; which he made all possible haste to do. So that when the Prince had almost passed a fair Plain, or Field, called *Chalgrave-Field*, from whence he was to enter a Lane, which continued to the Bridge; the Enemies Horse were discovered marching after them with speed; and as they might easily overtake them in the Lane, so they must as easily have put them into great disorder. Therefore the Prince resolved to expect, and stand them upon the open Field, though his Horse were all tired, and the Sun was grown very hot, it being about eight of the Clock in the Morning in *June*. He then directed, "that the Guard of the Prisoners should make what haste they could to the Bridge, but that all the rest should return;" for some were entered the Lane: and so he placed himself and his Troops, as he thought fit, in that Field to receive the Enemy; which made more haste, and with less order than they should have done; and being more

in Number than the Prince, and consisting of many of the Principal Officers, who having been present with the Earl of *Essex*, when the Alarm came, stayed not for their own Troops, but joined with those who were ready in the pursuit, as They thought, of a Flying Enemy, or such as would easily be arrested in their hasty retreat; and, having now overtaken them, meant to take revenge themselves for the damage they had received that Night, and Morning, before the General could come up to have a share in the Victory, though his Troops were even in View. But the Prince entertained them so roughly, that though they Charged very bravely and obstinately, being many of their best Officers, of which the chiefest falling, the rest showed less Vigor, in a short time they broke, and fled, and were pursued till they came near the Earl of *Essex's* Body; which being at near a mile's distance, and making a stand to receive their Flying Troops, and to be informed of their disaster, the Prince with his Troops hastened his retreat, and passed the Lane, and came safe to the Bridge before any of the Earl's Forces came up; who found it then to no purpose to go farther, there being a good Guard of Foot, which had likewise lined both sides of the Hedges a good way in the Lane. Thus the Prince, about Noon, or shortly after, entered *Oxford*, with near two hundred Prisoners, seven Cornets of Horse, and four Ensigns of Foot, with most of the Men he carried from thence; few only having been killed in the Action, whereof some were of Name.

The Prince presented Colonel *Urry* to the King

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with a great Testimony of the Courage he had showed in the Action, as well as of his Counsel, and Conduct in the whole; which was indeed very dexterous, and could have been performed by no Man, who had not been very conversant in the Quarters of those he destroyed. Upon which, the King honored him with Knighthood, and a Commission to raise a Regiment of Horse; and every body magnified, and extolled him, as they usually do a Man who hath good luck, and the more, because he was a *Scotch*-man, and professed a Repentance for having been in Rebellion against the King. He deserves this Testimony, and Vindication to be given him, against the calumnies which were raised against him, "as if he had broken his Trust, and deserted the Service of the Parliament, and betrayed them to the King, which is not true." He had owned, and published his discontents long before, and demanded redress, and justice, in some particulars from the Parliament, in which the Earl of *Essex* thought he had reason; and wished he might receive satisfaction. But the Man was in his nature proud, and imperious; had raised many Enemies; was a Man of Licence, and committed many disorders of that kind. He was however a good Officer in the Field; regular and vigilant in Marching, and in his Quarters; which the Parliament thought other Men would attain to, who had fewer Vices; and therefore granted nothing that he had desired; upon which he declared, "he would serve them no longer;" and delivered up his Commission to the Earl of *Essex*; and being then pressed to promise, that he would

not serve the King; he positively refused to give any such Engagement; and after he had stayed in *London* about a Month, and had received encouragement from some Friends in *Oxford*, he came thither in the manner set down before.

The Prince's success in this last march was very seasonable, and raised the Spirits at *Oxford* very much, and for some time allayed the Jealousies, and Animosities, which too often broke out in several Factions to the disquiet of the King. It was visibly great in the number of the Prisoners; whereof many were of condition, and the names of many Officers were known, who were left dead upon the Field, as Colonel *Gunter*, who was looked upon as the best Officer of Horse they had, and a Man of known malice to the Government of the Church; which had drawn some severe censure upon him before the Troubles, and for which he had still meditated Revenge. One of the Prisoners taken in the Action, said, "that he was confident Mr. *Hambden* was hurt, for he saw him ride off the Field before the Action was done, which he never used to do; with his head hanging down, and resting his hands upon the neck of his Horse; by which he concluded he was hurt." The news the next day made the Victory much more important, than it was thought to have been. There was full information brought of the great loss the Enemy had sustained in their Quarters, by which three or four Regiments were utterly broken and lost: the names of many Officers, of the best account, were known,

B O O K who were either killed upon the place, or so hurt
VII. as there remained little hope of their recovery.

Among the Prisoners, there were taken Colonel *Sheffield*, a younger Son of the Earl of *Mulgrave*, and one Colonel *Beckly* a *Scotch*-man; who, being both visibly wounded, acted their hurts so well, and pretended to be so ready to expire, that upon their Paroles neither to endeavour nor endure a Rescue, they were suffered to rest at a private House in the way, within a mile of the Field, till their Wounds should be dressed, and they recover so much strength as to be able to render themselves Prisoners at *Oxford*. But the King's Forces were no sooner gone, than they found means to send to their Comrades, and were the next day strong enough, to suffer themselves to be removed to *Thame*, by a strong Party sent from the Earl of *Essex*; and, between denying that they had promised, and saying, that they would perform it, they never submitted themselves to be Prisoners, as much against the Law of Arms, as their taking Arms was against their Allegiance. But that which would have been looked upon as a considerable recompence for a Defeat, could not but be thought a great addition to the Victory, which was the death of Mr. *Hambden*; who, being shot into the shoulder with a brace of Bullets, which brake the Bone, within three Weeks after died with extraordinary pain; to as great a consternation of all that Party, as if their whole Army had been defeated, or cut off.

Many Men observed, (as upon signal turns of great Affairs, as this was, such observations are

Mr. Hambden
 wounded in
 Mulgrave-
 Field, of which
 he died.

frequently made) that the Field in which the late Skirmish was, and upon which Mr. *Hambden* received his death-wound, *Chalgrave-Field*, was the same place in which he had first executed the Ordinance of the Militia, and engaged that County, in which his Reputation was very great, in this Rebellion: and it was confessed by the Prisoners that were taken that day, and acknowledged by all, that upon the Alarm that morning, after their Quarters were beaten up, he was exceeding solicitous to draw Forces together to pursue the Enemy; and, being a Colonel of Foot, put himself among those Horse as a Volunteer, who were first ready; and that when the Prince made a stand, all the Officers were of opinion to stay till their Body came up, and He alone (being second to None but the General himself in the observance, and application of all men) persuaded, and prevailed with them to advance; so violently did his fate carry him, to pay the Mulct in the place where he had committed the Transgression, about a year before.

He was a Gentleman of a good Family in *Buckinghamshire*, and born to a fair Fortune, and of a most civil and affable deportment. In his entrance into the world, he indulged to himself all the Licence in Sports and Exercises, and Company, which were used by Men of the most Jolly Conversation. Afterwards, he retired to a more reserved, and Melancholy Society, yet preserving his own natural Cheerfulness, and Vivacity, and above all, a flowing courtesy to all Men; though they who conversed nearly with him, found him growing into a dislike

B O O K of the Ecclesiastical Government of the Church,
 VII. yet most believed it rather a dislike of some Churchmen, and of some introducements of Theirs, which he apprehended might disquiet the public Peace. He was rather of Reputation in his own County, than of public discourse, or fame in the Kingdom, before the business of Ship-money: but Then he grew the Argument of all Tongues, every Man inquiring who, and what He was, that durst, at his own charge, support the Liberty, and Property of the Kingdom, and rescue his Country, as he thought, from being made a Prey to the Court. His carriage, throughout this Agitation, was with that rare temper and modesty, that they who watched him narrowly to find some advantage against his Person, to make him less resolute in his Cause, were compelled to give him a just Testimony. And the Judgment that was given against him, infinitely more advanced Him, than the Service for which it was given. When this Parliament begun (being returned Knight of the Shire for the County where he lived) the Eyes of all Men were fixed upon him, as their *Patriæ Pater*, and the Pilot that must steer the Vessel, through the Tempests, and Rocks which threatened it. And I am persuaded, his Power, and Interest, at that time, was greater to do Good or Hurt, than any Man's in the Kingdom, or than any Man of His Rank bath had in any time: for his Reputation of Honesty was Universal, and his Affections seemed so publicly guided, that no corrupt, or private ends could bias them.

He was of that rare affability, and temper in

Debate, and of that seeming humility and submission of judgment, as if he brought no opinion of his own with him, but a desire of Information, and Instruction; yet he had so subtle a way of Interrogating, and, under the notion of Doubts, insinuating his Objections, that he infused his own opinions into those from whom he pretended to learn, and receive them. And even with them who were able to preserve themselves from his infusions, and discerned those opinions to be fixed in him, with which they could not comply, he always left the Character of an Ingenious, and Conscientious Person. He was indeed a very Wise Man, and of great parts, and possessed with the most absolute Spirit of Popularity, and the most absolute faculties to govern the People, of any Man I ever knew. For the first year of the Parliament, he seemed rather to moderate, and soften the violent and distempered humors, than to inflame them. But wise and dispassioned Men plainly discerned, that That moderation proceeded from prudence, and observation that the season was not ripe, rather than that he approved of the moderation; and that he Begot many opinions, and motions, the Education whereof he committed to other Men; so far disguising his own designs, that he seemed seldom to wish more than was concluded; and in many gross conclusions, which would hereafter contribute to designs not yet set on foot, when he found them sufficiently backed by majority of Voices, he would withdraw himself before the Question, that he might seem not to consent to so much visible unreasonableness; which produced as great

B O O K a doubt in some, as it did approbation in others,
VII. of his Integrity. What combination soever had been originally with the *Scots* for the Invasion of *England*, and what farther was entered into afterwards in favor of them, and to advance any alteration of the Government in Parliament, no Man doubts was at least with the privity of this Gentleman.

After he was among those Members accused by the King of High-Treason, he was much altered; his nature and carriage seeming much fiercer than it did before. And without question, when he first drew his Sword, he threw away the Scabbard; for he passionately opposed the Overture made by the King for a Treaty from *Nottingham*, and as eminently, all expedients that might have produced any accommodations in this that was at *Oxford*, and was principally relied on, to prevent any infusions which might be made into the Earl of *Essex* towards Peace, or to render them ineffectual, if they were made; and was indeed much more relied on by that Party, than the General himself. In the first entrance into the Troubles, he undertook the Command of a Regiment of Foot, and performed the duty of a Colonel, upon all occasions, most punctually. He was very temperate in diet, and a Supreme Governor over all his Passions, and Affections, and had thereby a great power over other Men's. He was of an Industry and Vigilance not to be tired out, or wearied by the most Laborious; and of Parts not to be imposed upon, by the most Subtle, or Sharp; and of a Personal courage equal to his best Parts; so that he was an Enemy not to be wished wherever he

might have been made a Friend; and as much to be apprehended where he was so, as any Man could deserve to be. And therefore his death was no less pleasing to the One Party, than it was condoled in the Other. In a word, what was said of *Cinna*, might well be applied to Him; "he had a Head to contrive, and a Tongue to persuade, and a Hand to execute, any mischief." His death therefore seemed to be a great deliverance to the Nation.

The Earl of *Essex's* Army was so weakened by these defeats, and more by the sickness that had wasted it, that it was not thought safe to remain longer so near his unquiet, and restless Enemies. The Factions, and Animosities at *London*, required his presence There; and he thought the Army would be sooner recruited there, than at so great a distance; so that he marched directly from *Thame* to *London*, where he found Jealousy and Contention enough; leaving his Army Quartered about *St. Albans*. Whilst the Affairs of the Parliament were in this distraction, the King's recovered great Reputation; and the Season of the year being fit for Action, all Discontents, and Factionous Murmurings, were adjourned to the next Winter.

The Earl of
Essex marches
from *Thame*
to *London*;
quartering his
Army about
St. Albans.

The end of the Treaty, in which We left the Chief-Commanders of the *Cornish*-Forces, with Commissioners of the other Western-Counties, was like that in other places; for notwithstanding those extraordinary obligations of Oaths, and receiving the Sacrament, circumstances in no other Treaty. the Parliament no sooner sent their Votes, and Declarations to them (the same which are before mentioned upon

The King's
Affairs in the
West

B O O K VII. the Treaties in *Yorkshire*, and *Cheeshire*) and some Members of their own to overlook and perplex them, but all peaceable Inclinations were laid aside; so that (having in the mean time industriously levied Money, throughout *Somerset* and *Devon*, upon Friends and Enemies; and a good Body of Men) the Night before the expiration of the Treaty and Cessation, *James Chudleigh* the Major-General of the Rebels, brought a strong Party of Horse and Foot within two miles of *Launceston*, the head Quarter of the *Cornish*, and the very next Morning, the Cessation not being determined till after twelve of the Clock in the Night, marched upon the Town, where they were not sufficiently provided for them. For though the Commanders of the *Cornish* had employed their time, as usefully as they could, during the Cessation, in preparing the Gentry of that County, and all the Inhabitants, to submit to a Weekly Tax for the support of that power, which defended them; over and above which, the Gentlemen, and Persons of Quality, freely brought in all their Plate to be disposed of to the public, and though they foresaw, after the Committee of Parliament came into the County, that the Treaty would conclude without fruit, and therefore *Sir Ralph Hopton*, and *Sir Bevil Greenvil* repaired to *Launceston* the day before the expiration of the Treaty, to meet any attempt should be made upon them: Yet, being to Feed, and Pay their small Forces out of one County, they had been compelled to Quarter their Men at a great distance, that no one part might be more oppressed than was necessary: so that all that was done

the first day, was by the advantage of Passes, and lining of Hedges, to keep the Enemy in Action, till the other Forces came up; which they seasonably did, towards the Evening; and then the Enemy, who received great loss in that day's Action, grew so heartless, that in the Night they retired to *Okington*, fifteen miles from the place of their Skirmish. After which many small Skirmishes ensued, for many days, with various success; sometimes the *Cornish* advancing in *Devon*, and then retiring again; for it appeared now, that a formed Army was marching against them, so far superior in Number, that there was no reasonable hope of resistance.

Towards the middle of *May*, the Earl of *Stamford* marched into *Cornwal*, by the North-part, with a Body of fourteen hundred Horse and Dragoons, and five thousand four hundred Foot by the Poll, with a Train of thirteen Brass-Ordinance, and a Mortar-Piece, and a very plentiful Magazine of Victual, and Ammunition, and every way in as good an Equipage, as could be provided by Men who wanted no Money; whilst the King's small Forces, being not half the Number, and unsupplied with every useful thing, were at *Launceston*; of whom the Enemy had so absolute a contempt, though they knew they were marching to them, within six or seven Miles, that they considered only how to take them after they were dispersed, and to prevent their running into *Pendennis*-Castle to give them farther trouble. To which purpose having encamped themselves upon the flat top of a very high Hill, to which the Ascents were very steep every

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The Earl of
Stamford
marches into
Cornwal with
an Army.

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way, near *Stratton*, being the only part of *Cornwal* eminently disaffected to the King's Service, they sent a Party of twelve hundred Horse and Dragoons, under the Command of Sir *George Chudleigh*, Father to their Major - General, to *Bodmin* to surprize the High-Sheriff, and principal Gentleman of the County; and thereby, not only to prevent the coming up of any more strength to the King's Party, but, under the awe of such a power of Horse, to make the whole County rise for them. This design, which was not in itself unreasonable, proved fortunate to the King. For his Forces which marched from *Launceston*, with a resolution to Fight with the Enemy, upon any disadvantage of Place or Number (which, how hazardous soever, carried less danger with it, than retiring into the County, or any thing else that was in their power) easily now resolved to Assault the Camp in the absence of their Horse; and with this resolution, they marched on *Monday* the fifteenth of *May*, within a Mile of the Enemy; being so destitute of all Provisions, that the best Officers had but a Bisket a Man a day, for two days, the Enemy looking upon them as their own.

On *Tuesday* the sixteenth of *May*, about five of the Clock in the Morning, they disposed themselves to their work; having stood in their Arms all the Night. The Number of Foot was about two thousand four hundred, which they divided into four Parts, and agreed on their several Provinces. The first was Commanded by the Lord *Mohun*, and Sir *Ralph Hopton*; who undertook to Assault the Camp on the South-side. Next them, on the left hand, Sir

John Berkeley, and *Sir Bevil Greenvil* were to force their way. *Sir Nicholas Slanning*, and *Colonel Trevannion* were to Assault the North-side; and, on the left hand, *Colonel Thomas Bassett*, who was Major-General of their Foot, and *Colonel William Godolphin* were to advance with Their Party; each Party having two pieces of Cannon to dispose as they found necessary: *Colonel John Digby* Commanding the Horse and Dragoons, being about five hundred, stood upon a Sandy-Common which had a way to the Camp, to take any advantage he could of the Enemy, if they Charged; otherwise, to be firm as a Reserve.

In this manner the Fight begun; the King's Forces pressing, with their utmost vigor, those four ways up the Hill, and the Enemies as obstinately defending their ground. The Fight continued with very doubtful success, till towards three of the Clock in the Afternoon; when word was brought to the Chief-Officers of the *Cornish*, that their Ammunition was spent to less than four Barrels of Powder; which (concealing the defect from the Soldiers) they resolved could be only supplied with Courage: and therefore, by Messengers to one another, they agreed to advance with their full Bodies, without making any more shot, till they reached the top of the Hill, and so might be upon even ground with the Enemy; wherein the Officer's Courage, and Resolution, was so well seconded by the Soldier, that they begun to get ground in all places; and the Enemy, in wonder of the Men, who out-faced their shot with their Swords, to quit their Post. Major-

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B O O K General *Chudleigh*, who ordered the Battle, failed
VII. in no part of a Soldier; and when he saw his Men recoil from less Numbers, and the Enemy in all places gaining the Hill upon him himself advanced, with a good stand of Pikes, upon that Party which was led by Sir *John Berkeley*, and Sir *Bevil Greenvil*; and Charged them so smartly, that he put them into disorder; Sir *Bevil Greenvil*, in the shock, being borne to the Ground, but quickly relieved by his Companion; they so reinforced the Charge, that having killed most of the Assailants, and dispersed the rest, they took the Major-General Prisoner, after he had behaved himself with as much Courage, as a Man could do. Then the Enemy gave ground apace, insomuch as the four Parties, growing nearer and nearer as they ascended the Hill, between three and four of the Clock, they all met together upon one ground near the top of the Hill; where they embraced with unspeakable joy, each congratulating the others success, and all acknowledging the wonderful blessing of God; and being there possessed of some of the Enemies Cannon, they turned them upon the Camp, and advanced together to perfect the Victory. But the Enemy no sooner understood the loss of their Major-General, but their hearts failed them; and being so resolutely pressed, and their ground lost, upon the security and advantage whereof, they wholly depended, some of them threw down their Arms, and Others fled; dispersing themselves, and every Man shifting for himself: Their General, the Earl of *Stamford*, giving the example, who (having stood at a safe distance all the time of the Battle, environed

The Earl is
 beaten near
 Stratton,
 May 16.

environed with all the Horse, which in small Parties, though it is true their whole Number was not above six or seven score, might have done great mischief to the several Parties of Foot, who with so much difficulty scaled the steep Hill) as soon as he saw the day lost, and some say sooner, made all imaginable haste to *Exeter*, to prepare them for the condition they were shortly to expect.

The Conquerors, as soon as they had gained the Camp, and dispersed the Enemy, and after public Prayers upon the place, and a solemn Thanksgiving to Almighty God for their Deliverance and Victory sent a small Party of Horse to pursue the Enemy for a mile or two; not thinking fit to pursue farther, or with their whole Body of Horse, lest Sir *George* should return from *Botwin* with his strong Body of Horse and Dragoons, and find them in disorder; but contenting themselves with the Victory they had obtained upon the place, which, in Substance as well as Circumstance, was as signal a one, as hath happened to either Party since the unhappy distraction; for on the King's Party were not lost in all above four score Men; whereof few were Officers, and none above the degree of a Captain; and though many more were hurt, not above ten Men died afterwards of their wounds. On the Parliament-side, notwithstanding their advantage of ground, and that the other were the Assailants, above three hundred were slain on the place, and seventeen hundred taken Prisoners with their Major-General, and above thirty other Officers. They took likewise all their Baggage and Tents, all their Cannon,

B O O K being, as was said before, thirteen pieces of Brass-
VII. Ordnance, and a Brass-Mortar-piece; all their Ammunition, being seventy Barrels of Powder, and all other sorts of Ammunition proportionable, and a very great Magazine of Bisket, and other excellent Provisions of Victuals; which was as seasonable a Blessing as the Victory, to those who, for three or four days before, had suffered great want of food as well as sleep; and were equally tired with duty, and hunger. The Army rested that night, and the next day, at *Stratton*; all care being taken by express Messengers, to disperse the news of their success to all parts of that Country, and to guard the Passes upon the River *Tamar*, whereby to hinder the return of the Enemies Horse and Dragoons. But Sir *George Chudleigh* had no sooner, with great triumph, dispersed the High-Sheriff, and Gentlemen, who intended to have called the *posse Comitatus*, according to their good custom, for the Assistance of the King's Party, and with little resistance entered *Bodmin*, when he received the fatal News of the loss of their Camp and Army at *Stratton*. Upon which with as much haste, and disorder, as so great a consternation could produce among a People not acquainted with the Accidents of War, leaving many of his Men and Horses a Prey to the Country-People, himself, with as many as he could get, and keep together, got into *Plymouth*; and thence, without interruption or hazard, into *Exeter*.

The Earl of *Stamford*, to make his own conduct and misfortune the less censured, industriously spread abroad in all places, and confidently sent the same

information to the Parliament, “ that he had been
 “ betrayed by *James Chudleigh*; and that, in the
 “ heat of the Battle, when the hope of the day stood
 “ fair, he had Voluntarily, with a Party, run over
 “ to the Enemy, and immediately Charged the
 “ Parliament Forces; which begot in all Men a ge-
 “ neral apprehension of Treachery, the Soldiers
 “ fearing their Officers, and the Officers their Sol-
 “ diers revolt;” and thereupon the Rout ensued.

Whereas the truth is, as he was a young Man of
 excellent Parts, and Courage, he performed the part
 of a right good Commander, both in his Orders,
 and his Person; and was taken Prisoner in the Body
 of his Enemy, whither he had Charged with un-
 daunted Courage, when there was no other expe-
 dient in reason left. But this scandal so without
 color cast on him, and entertained with more credit
 than his services had merited (for from the time of
 his Engagement to the Parliament, he had served
 not only with full ability, but with notable success,
 and was the only Man that had given any inter-
 ruption to the prosperity of the *Cornish* Army, and
 in a night-skirmish, at *Bradock-Down* near *Okington*,
 struck a greater terror into them, and disordered
 them more than they were at any other time) wrought
 so far upon the young Man, together with the kind
 usage, and reception he found as a Prisoner among
 the Chief-Officers, who loved him as a Gallant
 Enemy, and one like to do the King good Service
 if he were recovered to his Loyalty, that after he
 had been Prisoner about ten days, he freely declared;
 “ that he was convinced in his conscience, and

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“ judgment, of the errors he had committed;” and, upon promise made to him of the King’s Pardon, frankly offered to join with them in his Majesty’s Service; and so gave some countenance to the reproach that was first most injuriously cast upon him.

The truth is, he was of too good an understanding, and too much generosity in his nature, to be affected to the Cause which he served, or to comply with those Arts, which he saw practised to carry it on; and having a Command in *Ireland* when the War first broke out, he came thence into *England*, with a purpose to serve the King; and to that end, shortly after his Majesty’s coming to *Oxford*, he came thither to tender his Service; but he found the Eyes of most Men fixed upon him with prejudice and jealousy there, both for his Family’s sake, which was notoriously disaffected to the King, and for some errors of his own, in that Plot. that was so much spoken of, to bring up the Northern Army to awe the Parliament; in which business, being then a very young Man, and of a stirring spirit, and desirous of a Name, he had expressed much Zeal to the King’s Service, and been busy in inclining the Army to engage in such Petitions, and Undertakings, as were not gracious to the Parliament. But when that discovery was made by Mr. *Goring*, as is before remembered, and a Committee appointed to examine the combination, this Gentleman, wrought upon by hopes, or fears, in his examination, said much that was disadvantageous to the Court, and therefore, bringing no

other Testimony with him to *Oxford*, but of his own Conscience, he received nothing like Countenance there; whereupon he returned to *London*, sufficiently incensed that he was neglected; and was quickly entertained for their Western employment, where his nearest Friends were thoroughly engaged. But after this defeat, his former passion being allayed, and his observation and experience convincing him, that the designs of the Parliament were not such as were pretended, he resigned himself to those who first conquered him with Force, and then with Reason and Civility; and, no doubt, was much wrought upon by the discipline, and integrity of the Forces, by whom he had been subdued; and with the piety, temper, and sobriety of the Chief-Commanders, which indeed was most exemplary, and worthy the Cause for which they were engaged; the Reputation, and Conscience whereof, had alone carried them through the difficulties, and straits, with which they were to contend.

This Army, willing to relieve their Friends of *Cornwal*, from the burden which they sustained so patiently, hastened their march into *Devonshire*, not thoroughly resolved whether to attack *Plymouth*, or *Exeter*, or both; when advertisement came to them, by an express from *Oxford*, “ that the King
“ had sent Prince *Maurice*, and the Marquis of *Hert-*
“ *ford*, with a very good Body of Horse to join
“ with them, and that they were advanced towards
“ them as far as *Somersetshire*; and that Sir *William*
“ *Waller* was designed by the Parliament, to visit the
“ West, with a new Army, which would receive

O O K “ a good recruit from those who escaped from
 VII. “ the Battle of *Stratton*:” So that it was necessary for
 all the King’s Forces in those parts to be united in
 a Body, as soon as might be; hereupon it was
 quickly resolved to leave such a Party at *Saltaſh*,
 and *Milbrook* as might defend faithful *Cornwal* from
 any incursions of *Plymouth*, and with their Army
 to march Eastward; their number increasing daily
 upon the Reputation of their new wonderful Vic-
 tory; many Volunteers coming to them out of *Devon-*
ſhire, and very many of their Prisoners profeſſing,
 they had been ſeduced, and freely offering to ſerve
 the King againſt thoſe who had wronged both; who,
 being entertained under ſome of their own converted
 Officers, behaved themſelves afterwards with great
 Honesty and Courage. And ſo making no longer
 ſtay by the way, than was neceſſary for the reſreſh-
 ing of their Troops, the *Corniſh* Army, for that
 was the ſtile it now carried, marched by *Exeter*,
 where the Earl of *Stamford*, with a ſufficient Gar-
 riſon, then was; and ſtaying only two or three days
 to fix ſmall Garrifons, whereby that Town, full
 of fear and apprehenſion, might be kept from hav-
 ing too great an influence upon ſo populous a
 County, advanced to *Tiverton*, where a Regiment
 of Foot of the Parliament, under Colonel *Ware*, a
 Gentleman of that County, had fixed themſelves;
 hoping Sir *William Waller* would be as ſoon with
 them for their relief, as the *Corniſh* would be to
 force them; which Regiment being eaſily diſperſed,
 they ſtayed there to expect new Orders from the
 Marquis of *Hertford*.

When the loss of *Reading* was well digested, and the King understood the declining condition of the Earl of *Essex's* Army, and that he would either not be able to advance, or not in such a manner, as would give him much trouble at *Oxford*; and hearing in what prosperous state his hopeful Party in *Cornwal* stood, whither the Parliament was making all haste to send Sir *William Waller*, to check their good success; his Majesty resolved to send the Marquis of *Hertford* into those parts, the rather because there were many of the prime Gentlemen of *Wiltshire*, *Dorsetshire*, and *Somerſetshire*, who confidently undertook, if the Marquis went through those Counties, with such a strength as they supposed the King would spare to him, they would in a very short time raise so considerable a power, as to oppose any force the Parliament should be able to send. When the Marquis was ready for his Journey, news arrived of the great Victory at *Stratton*; so that there was no danger in the Marquis's being able to join with that little *Cornish* Army; and then there would appear indeed a visible Body worthy the name of an Army. This put some Persons upon desiring, that Prince *Maurice* (who was yet in no other Quality of Command, than of a private Colonel of Horse, but had always behaved himself with great Courage and Vigilance) might be likewise disposed into a Command of that Army. Hereupon the King assigned Him, and his Highness willingly accepted to be Lieutenant-General under the Marquis; who for many reasons, besides that he was actually possessed of it, was thought fit to have the

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superior power over those Western Counties, where his Fortunes lay, and the Estimation, and Reverence of the People to him was very great. So the Prince and the Marquis, with Prince *Maurice's*, and the Earl of *Cornarvon's*, and Colonel *Thomas Howard's* Regiments of Horse (the Earl being General of the Cavalry) advanced into the West; and staying only some few days at *Salisbury*, and after in *Dorsetshire*, whilst some new Regiments of Horse and Foot, which were levying by the Gentlemen in those parts, came up to them, made all convenient haste into *Somersetshire*, being desirous to join with the *Cornish*, as soon as might be; presuming they should be then best able to perfect their new Levies, when they were out of apprehension of being disturbed by a more powerful Force. For Sir *William Waller* was already marched out of *London*, and used not to stay longer by the way than was unavoidably necessary.

In the Marquis's first entrance into the West, He had an unspeakable loss, and the King's Service a far greater, by the death of Mr. *Rogers*, a Gentleman of a rare Temper, and excellent Understanding; who besides that he had a great Interest in the Marquis, being his Cousin-german, and so, out of that private Relation, as well as Zeal to the public, passionately inclined to advance the Service, had a wonderful great influence upon the County of *Dorset*, for which he served as one of the Knights in Parliament; and had so well designed all things there, that *Poole* and *Lyme* (two Port-Towns in that County, which gave the King afterwards much

Trouble) if He had lived, had been undoubtedly reduced. But by his Death all those hopes were cancelled, the surviving Gentry of that Shire being, how well affected soever, so unactive, that the progress, that was that year made there to the King's advantage, owed little to their Assistance. BOOK VII.

About the middle of *June*, Prince *Maurice*, and the Marquis, with sixteen or seventeen Hundred Horse, and about one thousand new levied Foot, and seven or eight Field-pieces, came to *Chard*, a fair Town in *Somersetshire*, nearest the edge of *Devonshire*; where, according to order, they were met by the *Cornish* Army; which consisted of above three thousand excellent Foot, five hundred Horse, and three hundred Dragoons, with four or five Field-pieces; so that. Officers and all, being joined, they might well pass for an Army of seven thousand Men; with an excellent Train of Artillery, and a very fair proportion of Ammunition of all sorts, and so good a Reputation, that they might well promise themselves a quick increase of their Numbers. Yet if the extraordinary temper and virtue of the Chief-Officers of the *Cornish*, had not been much superior to that of their Common-Soldiers, who valued themselves high, as the Men whose courage had alone vindicated the King's Cause in the West, there might have been greater disorder at their first joining, than could easily have been composed. For how small soever the Marquis's Party was in Numbers, it was supplied with all the General Officers of a Royal Army. a General, Lieutenant-General, General of the Horse, General of the Ordnance, a Major-

The Marquis of Hertford and Prince Maurice, with their Forces, join the Cornish Army at Chard.

BOOK VII. General of Horse, and another of Foot, without keeping suitable Commands for those who had done all that was passed, and were to be principally relied on for what was to come. So that the Chief-Officers of the *Cornish* Army, by joining with a much less Party than themselves, were at best in the condition of Private Colonels. Yet the same Public thoughts still so absolutely prevailed with them, that they quieted all murmurings and emulations among Inferior Officers, and Common-Soldiers; and were, with equal candor and estimation, valued by the Prince and Marquis, who bethought themselves of all expedients, which might prevent any future misunderstanding.

Taunton was the first place they resolved to visit, being one of the fairest, largest, and richest Towns in *Somersetshire*; but withal as eminently affected to the Parliament, where they had now a Garrison; but they had not yet the same Courage they recovered afterwards. For the Army was no sooner drawn near the Town, the head Quarters being at *Orchard*, a House of the *Portmans*, two miles from the Town, but the Town sent two of their substantial Inhabitants to Treat; which, though nothing was concluded, struck that terror into the Garrison (the Prisoners in the Castle, whereof many were Men of good Fortunes, imprisoned there as Malignants, at the same time raising some commotion there) that the Garrison fled out of the Town to *Bridgewater*, being a less Town but of a much stronger situation; and, with the same panic fear, the next day from thence; so that the Marquis was possessed, in three

days, of *Taunton*, *Bridgewater*, and *Dunstar-Castle*, so much stronger than both the other, that it could not have been forced; yet by the dexterity of *Francis Windham*, who wrought upon the fears of the owner, and master of it, *Mr. Lutterel*, was with as little bloodshed as the other, delivered up to the King; into which the Marquis put him, that took it, as Governor; as he well deserved.

The Government of *Taunton* he committed to Sir *John Stawell*, a Gentleman of a very great Estate in those parts; who from the beginning, had heartily and personally engaged Himself and his Children for the King; and was in the first form of those who had made themselves obnoxious to the Parliament. The other Government, of *Bridgewater*, was conferred upon *Edmund Windham*. High-Sheriff of the County, being a Gentleman of a Fortune near the place, and of a good personal Courage, and unquestionable Affection to the Cause. The Army stayed about *Taunton* seven or eight days, for the settling those Garrisons, and to receive Advertisements of the Motion, or Station of the Enemy; in which time they lost much of the Credit, and Reputation, they had with the Country. For whereas the Chief-Commanders of the *Cornish* Army, had restrained their Soldiers from all manner of Licence, obliging them to solemn, and frequent Actions of Devotion, inso-much as the fame of their Religion, and Discipline, was no less than of their Courage, and thereupon Sir *Ralph Hopton* (who was generally considered as the General of that Army, though it was governed by such a Commission as is before remembered) was

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B O O K VII. greedily expected in his own Country, where his Reputation was second to no Man's; the Horse, that came now with the Marquis, having lived under a loose Discipline, and coming now into plentiful Quarters, unvisited by an Army, eminent for their Disaffection, were disorderly enough to give the Enemy credit in laying more to their Charge than they deserved; and by their Licence hindered those orderly Levies, which should have brought in a supply of Money, for the regular payment of the Army, This extravagancy produced another mischief, some jealousy or shadow of it, between the Lord Marquis and Prince *Maurice*; the first, as being better versed in the Policy of Peace, than in the Mysteries of War, desiring to regulate the Soldier, and to restrain him from using any Licence upon the Country, and the Prince being thought so wholly to incline to the Soldier; that he neglected any consideration of the Country, and not without some design of drawing the sole dependance of the Soldier upon himself. But here were the seeds rather sown of dislike, than any visible disinclination produced; for after they had settled the Garrisons before mentioned, they advanced, with Unity and Alacrity, Eastward, to find out the Enemy, which was gathered together in a considerable Body, within less than twenty Miles of them.

Whilst so much time was spent at *Oxford*, to prepare the supplies for the West, and in settling the manner of sending them; which might have been done much sooner, and with less noise; the Parliament foresaw, that if all the West were recovered

from them, their Quarters would by degrees be so straitened, that their other Friends would quickly grow weary of them. They had still all the Western Ports at their Devotion, those in *Cornwal* only excepted; and their Fleets had always great benefit by it. And though most of the Gentry were engaged against them, as they were in truth in many parts throughout the Kingdom, yet the Common-People, especially in the Clothing-parts of *Somersetshire*, were generally too much inclined to them. So that they could not want Men, if they sent a Body of Horse, and some Arms, to countenance them; with the last of which, they had sufficiently stored the Sea-Towns which were in their hands. And therefore they resolved, that though they could not easily recruit their Army, they would send some Troops of Horse, and Dragoons, into the West, to keep up the Spirits of their Friends there. And for the conduct of this service, they made choice of Sir *William Waller*, a Member of the House of Commons, and a Gentleman of a Family in *Kent*.

The Parlia-
ment sent Sir
W. Waller
into the west
with an Army.

Sir *William Waller* had been well bred; and, having spent some years abroad, and some time in the Armies there, returned with a good Reputation home; and shortly after, having Married a young Lady, who was to inherit a good Fortune in the West, he had a quarrel with a Gentleman of the same Family, who had the Honor to be a menial Servant to the King in a place near his Person; which, in that time, was attended with Privilege and Respect from all Men. These two Gentlemen discoursing with some warmth together, Sir *William Waller* received such provocation

BOOK VII. from the other, that he struck him a blow over the face, so near the Gate of *Westminster-Hall*, that there were Witnesses, who swore, "that it was in the Hall itself, the Courts being then sitting;" which, according to the rigor of Law, makes it very penal; and the credit the other had in the Court, made the prosecution to be very severe; inasmuch as he was at last compelled to redeem himself at a dear ransom; the benefit whereof, was conferred on his adversary, which made the sense of it the more grievous; and this produced in him so eager a spirit against the Court, that he was very open to any temptation, that might engage him against it; and so concurring in the House of Commons with all those Counsels which were most Violent, he was employed in their first Military Action, for the reducing of *Portsmouth*; which he effected with great ease, as is remembered before; and when the Earl of *Essex* had put the Army into Winter-Quarters, he had with some Troops, made a Cavalcade or two into the West, so fortunately, that he had not only beat up some loose Quarters, but had surpris'd a fixed and fortified Quarter, made by the Lord *Herbert* of *Ragland* near *Glocester*; in which he took above twelve hundred Prisoners with all the Officers; being a number very little inferior to his own Party; which is likewise particularly remembered before. So that he got great Reputation with the Parliament and the City; and was there called *William the Conqueror*. And it is very true, that they who looked upon the Earl of *Essex* as a Man that would not keep them company to the end of their Journey, had their Eyes upon Sir

William Waller, as a Man more for Their turn; and were desirous to extol him the more, that he might eclipse the other. And therefore they prepared all things for his march, with so great expedition, and secrecy, that the Marquis of *Hertford* was no sooner joined to the *Cornish* Troops (in which time *Bridge-water*, and *Dunstar*, and some other places were reduced from the Parliament) before he was informed that Sir *William Waller* was within two days march of him, and was more like to draw supplies to him from *Bristol*, and the parts adjacent, which were under the Parliament, than the Marquis could from the open Country; and therefore it was held most Counselable to advance, and engage him, whilst he was not yet too strong; and by this means they should continue still their march toward *Oxford*; which they now inclined to do.

Though Sir *William Waller* himself continued still at *Bath*, yet the remainder of those Horse and Dragoons that escaped out of *Cornwal*, after the Battle of *Stratton*, and such other as were sent out of *Exeter* for their ease, when they apprehended a Siege, and those Soldiers who fled out of *Taunton*, and *Bridge-water*, and other Regiments of the Country, were by *Alexander Popham*, *Strode*, and the other Deputy Lieutenant of the Militia for *Somerjet*, rallied; and with the Trained-bands, and Volunteer-Regiments of the Country, drawn together, with that confidence, that when the Marquis had taken up his head Quarters at *Somerton*, the Enemy, before break of day, fell upon a Regiment of Dragoons, quartered a mile Eastward from the Town; and gave

BOOK VII. so brisk an Alarm to the King's Army, that it was immediately drawn out, and advanced upon the Enemy (being the first they had seen make any stand before them, since the Battle of *Stratton*) who making stands upon the places of advantage, and maintaining little Skirmishes in the Rear, retired in no ill order to *Wells*; and the King's Forces still pursuing, they chose to quit that City likewise; and drew their whole Body, appearing in number as considerable as their Pursuers, to the top of a Hill, called *Blendip-Hill*, overlooking the City of *Wells*, which they had left. The day being far spent, and the March having been long, the Marquis, with all the Foot, and Train, stayed at *Wells*, but Prince Maurice, and the Earl of *Cornarvon*, with Sir *Ralph Hopton*, and Sir *John Berkeley* and two Regiments of Horse, resolved to loop upon the Enemy on the top of the Hill, who suffered them, without interruption, to gain the top of the Hill level with them, in a very orderly manner, facing with a large Front of their Horse, to give their Foot and Baggage leisure and security, retired together as the Prince advanced. This and the natural contempt the King's Horse yet had of the Enemy, which in all Skirmishes and Charges had been hitherto beaten by them, made the Prince judge this to be but a more graceful running away; and therefore followed them farther, over those large Hills till the Enemy, who were anon to pass through a Lane, and a Village called *Chewton*, were compelled, before their entrance into the Lane, to leave their Reserve; which faced about much thinner than it was over the Hill; which opportunity and advantage was no sooner

sooner discerned, as it had been foreseen, but the Earl of *Carnarvon* (who always Charged home) with an incomparable Gallantry Charged the Enemy, and pressed them so hard, that he entered the Lane with them, and Routed the whole Body of their Horse, and followed the execution of them above two miles.

But this was like to have been a dear success; for Sir *William Waller*, who lay with his new Army at *Bath*, and had drawn to him a good supply out of the Garrison at *Bristol*, had directed this Body which was in *Somerjet*. to retire before the King's Forces till they should join with him, who had sent a fresh, strong Party of Horse and Dragoons, to assist their Retreat; which, by the advantage of a Hedge, had marched without being discovered: so that the Earl of *Carnarvon*, being a stranger in the Country and the ways, pursued the Enemy into Sir *William Waller's* Quarters, and till himself was pressed by a fresh Body of Horse and Dragoons; when he was necessitated to retire in as good order as he could; and sent the Prince, who followed him, word of the danger which attended them. His Highness hereupon, with what haste he could, drew back through the Village; chusing rather, with very good reason, to attend the Enemy in the plain Heath, than to be engaged in a narrow passage: thither the Earl of *Carnarvon* with his Regiment came to him, broken and chased by the Enemy; who immediately drew up a large front of Horse and Dragoons, much stronger than the Prince's Party, who had only his own, and the Earl of *Carnarvon's* Regiments, with some Gentlemen Volunteers.

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The strait, and necessity he was in, was very great; for as he might seem much too weak to Charge them, so the danger might probably be much greater to retire over these fair Hills, being pursued with a fresh Party much superior in number. Therefore he took a Gallant Resolution, to give the Enemy a brisk Charge with his own Regiment upon their advance, whilst the Earl rallied His, and prepared to second him, as there should be occasion. This was as soon and fortunately executed as resolved; the Prince in the head of the Regiment Charging so vigorously, that he utterly broke, and routed that part of the Front that received the impression. But almost half the Enemies Horse, that, being extended larger than his Front, were not Charged, wheeled about, and Charged the Prince in the Rear, and at the same time the Earl of *Carnarvon*, with his rallied Regiment, Charged Their Rear; and all this so thoroughly performed, that they were mingled one among the other, and the good Sword was to decide the controversy, their Pistols being spent in the close. The Prince himself received two shrewd hurts in his head, and was beaten off his Horse: but he was presently relieved, and carried off and the Enemy totally routed, and pursued again by the Earl of *Carnarvon*; who had a fair execution upon them, as long as the light countenanced his chase, and then he returned to the head Quarters at *Wells*; there having been in these Skirmishes three-score or fourscore Men lost on the Prince's Party, and three times that number by the Enemy; the Action being too quick to take many Prisoners.

At *Wells* the Army rested many days, as well to

recover the Prince's wounds, being only cuts with Swords, as to consult what was next to be done; for they were now within distance of an Enemy that they knew would fight with them. For Sir *William Waller* was at *Bath* with his whole Army, much increased by those who were chased out of the West; and resolved not to advance, having all advantages of Provisions, and Passes, till a new supply, he every day expected from *London*, were arrived with him. On the other side, the Marquis was not only to provide to meet with so vigilant an Enemy, but to secure himself at his Rear, that the disaffection of the People behind him, who were only subdued, not converted, upon the advance of Sir *William Waller*, might not take fresh Courage. Though *Cornwal* was reasonably secured, to keep off any impression upon itself from *Plymouth*, yet *Devonshire* was left in a very unsafe posture; there being only a small Party at *Columb-John*, a House of Sir *John Ackland's* three miles off *Exeter*, to control the power of that City, where the Earl of *Stamford* was; and to dispute not only with any commotion, that might happen in the Country, but with any power that might arrive by Sea. Upon these considerations, and the intelligence, that the Parliament had sent directions to the Earl of *Warwick* their Admiral, "to attend the *Devonshire*-Coast with his Fleet, and take any advantage he could," the Marquis, by the advice of the Council of War, sent Sir *John Berkeley* back into *Devonshire*, with Colonel *Howard's* Regiment of Horse, to Command the Forces which were then

BOOK there, and to raise what Numbers more he could
V.I. possibly, for the blocking up that City, and reducing the County; and upon his arrival there, to send up to the Army Sir *James Hamilton's* Regiment of Horse and Dragoons; which had been left in *Devonshire*; and, by the Licence they took, weakened the King's Party; so that by sending this relief thither, he did not lessen at all his own Numbers, yet gave great strength to the reducing those parts, as appeared afterwards by the success.

After this disposition, and eight or ten days rest at *Wells*, the Army generally expressing a cheerful impatience to meet with the Enemy, of which, at that time, they had a greater contempt, than in reason they should have; the Prince, and Marquis, advanced to *Frome*, and thence to *Bradford* within four Miles of *Bath*. And now no day passed without Action, and very sharp Skirmishes; Sir *William Waller* having received from *London* a fresh Regiment of five hundred Horse, under the Command of Sir *Arthur Haslerig*; which were so completely Armed, that they were called by the other side the Regiment of Lobsters, because of their bright Iron shells, with which they were covered, being perfect Cuirassiers; and were the first seen so Armed on either side, and the first that made any impression upon the King's Horse; who, being unarmed, were not able to bear a shock with them; besides that they were secure from hurts of the Sword, which were almost the only Weapons the other were furnished with.

The Contention was hitherto with Parties, in

which the Successes were various, and almost with equal losses: for as Sir *William Waller*, upon the first advance from *Wells*, beat up a Regiment of Horse and Dragoons of Sir *James Hamilton's*, and dispersed them; so, within two days, the King's Forces beat a Party of His from a Pass near *Bath*, where the Enemy lost two Field-pieces, and near a hundred Men. But Sir *William Waller* had the advantage in his ground, having a good City, well furnished with provisions, to quarter his Army together in; and so in his choice not to Fight, but upon extraordinary advantage. Whereas the King's Forces must either disperse themselves, and so give the Enemy advantage upon their Quarters, or, keeping near together, lodge in the Field, and endure great distress of Provision; the Country being so disaffected, that only force could bring in any supply or relief. Hereupon, after several attempts to engage the Enemy to a Battle upon equal terms, which having the advantage, he wisely avoided; the Marquis, and Prince *Maurice*, advanced with their whole Body to *Marsfield*, five miles beyond *Bath* towards *Oxford*; presuming, that, by this means, they should draw the Enemy from their place of advantage, his chief business being to hinder them from joining with the King. And if they had been able to preserve that temper, and had neglected the Enemy, till he had quitted his advantages, it is probable they might have Fought upon as good terms as they desired. But the unreasonable contempt they had of the Enemy, and confidence they should prevail in any ground, together with the straits they endured

B O O K for want of Provisions, and their want of Ammu-
VII. nition, which was spent as much in the daily Hedge-
 Skirmishes, and upon their Guards, being so near
 as could have been in Battle, would not admit the
 patience, for Sir *William Waller*, who was not to
 suffer that Body to join with the King, no sooner
 drew out his whole Army to *Lansdown*, which
 looked towards *Marsfield*, but they suffered them-
 selves to be engaged upon great disadvantage.

The Battle of It was upon the fifth of *July* when Sir *William*
Lansdown *Waller* as soon as it was light, possessed himself of
July 5. that Hill; and after he had, upon the brow of the
 Hill over the high-way, raised Breast-works with
 faggots and earth, and planted Cannon there, he
 sent a strong Party of Horse towards *Marsfield*;
 which quickly Alarmed the other Army, and was
 shortly driven back to their Body. As great a mind
 as the King's Forces had to cope with the Enemy,
 when they had drawn into *Bartalia*, and found the
 Enemy fixed on the top of the Hill, they resolved
 not to attack them upon so great disadvantage; and
 so retired again towards their old Quarters: which
 Sir *William Waller* perceiving, sent his whole Body
 of Horse and Dragoons, down the Hill, to Charge
 the Rear and Flank of the King's Forces; which
 they did thoroughly, the Regiment of Cuirassiers so
 amazing the Horse they Charged, that they totally
 routed them; and, standing firm and unshaken them-
 selves, gave so great terror to the King's Horse, who
 had never before turned from an Enemy, that no
 example of their Officers, who did Their parts
 with invincible Courage, could make them Charge

with the same confidence, and in the same manner they had usually done. However, in the end, after Sir *Nicholas Slanning* with three hundred Musqueteers, had fallen upon, and beaten their Reserve of Dragoons, Prince *Maurice*, and the Earl of *Carnarvon*, rallying their Horse, and winging them with the *Cornish* Musqueteers, Charged the Enemies Horse again, and totally routed them; and in the same manner received two Bodies more, and routed and chased them to the Hill; where they stood in a place almost inaccessible. On the brow of the Hill there were Breast-works, on which were pretty Bodies of small shot, and some Cannon; on either Flank grew a pretty thick Wood towards the declining of the Hill, in which strong Parties of Musqueteers were placed; at the Rear, was a very fair Plain, where the Reserves of Horse and Foot stood ranged; yet the *Cornish* Foot were so far from being appalled at this disadvantage, that they desired to fall on, and cried out, "that they might have leave to fetch off those Cannon." In the end, order was given to attempt the Hill with Horse and Foot. Two strong Parties of Musqueteers were sent into the Woods, which flanked the Enemy; and the Horse and other Musqueteers up the Road-way, which were Charged by the Enemies Horse, and Routed; then Sir *Bevil Greenvil* advanced with a Party of Horse, on his right hand, that ground being best for Them; and his Musqueteers on the left; himself leading up his Pikes in the middle; and in the face of their Cannon, and Small shot from the Breast-works, gained the brow of the Hill;

B O O K having sustained two full Charges of the Enemies
VII. Horse; but in the third Charge his Horse failing, and giving ground, he received, after other wounds, a blow on the Head with a Poll-Axe, with which he fell, and many of his Officers about him; yet the Musqueteers fired so fast upon the Enemies Horse, that they quitted their ground, and the two Wings, who were sent to clear the Woods, having done their Work, and gained those parts of the Hill, at the same time beat off their Enemies Foot, and became possessed of the Breast works; and so made way for their whole Body of Horse, Foot, and Cannon, to ascend the Hill; which they quickly did, and planted themselves on the ground they had won; the Enemy retiring about Demi-Culverin-shot behind a Stone-Wall upon the same Level, and standing in reasonable good order.

Either Party was sufficiently tired, and battered, to be contented to stand still. The King's Horse were so shaken, that of two thousand which were upon the Field in the morning, there were not above six hundred on the top of the Hill. The Enemy was exceedingly scattered too, and had no mind to venture on plain ground with those who had beaten them from the Hill; so that, exchanging only some shot from their Ordnance, they looked one upon another till the night interposed. About twelve of the Clock, it being very dark, the Enemy made a show of moving towards the ground they had lost; but giving a smart Volly of small shot, and finding themselves Answered with the like, they made no more noise; which the Prince observing, he sent a

Common Soldier to hearken as near the place, where they were, as he could; who brought word, "that the Enemy had left lighted matches in the Wall behind which they had lain, and were drawn off the Field;" which was true; so that, as soon as it was day, the Kings Army found themselves possessed entirely of the Field, and the Dead, and all other Ensigns of Victory: Sir *William Walter* being marched to *Bath*, in so much disorder and apprehension, that he left great store of Arms, and ten Barrels of Powder, behind him; which was a very seasonable supply to the other side, who had spent, in that day's Service, no less than fourscore Barrels, and had not a safe proportion left.

In this Battle, on the King's part, there were more Officers and Gentlemen of Quality slain, than Common Men; and more hurt, than slain. That which would have clouded any Victory, and made the loss of others less spoken of, was the death of Sir *Bevil Greenvil*. He was indeed an excellent Person, whose Activity, Interest, and Reputation, was the Foundation of what had been done in *Cornwal*; and his temper, and affections, so public, that no accident which happened, could make any impressions in him; and His example kept others from taking any thing ill, or at least seeming to do so. In a word, a brighter Courage, and a gentler Disposition, were never married together to make the most cheerful, and innocent conversation.

Sir Bevil
Greenvil
slain.

Very many Officers and Persons of Quality were hurt; as the Lord *Arundel* of *Wardour*, shot in the thigh with a brace of Pistol-Bullets; Sir *Ralph Hopton*,

B O O K VII. shot through the Arm with a Musquet; Sir *George Vaughan*, and many others, hurt in the head of their Troops with Swords and Poll-Axes; of which, none of name died. But the morning added much to the Melancholy of their Victory, when the Field was entirely their own. For Sir *Ralph Hopton* riding up and down the Field to visit the hurt Men, and to put the Soldiers in order, and readiness for motion, sitting on his Horse, with other Officers and Soldiers about him, near a Waggon of Ammunition, in which were eight Barrels of Powder; whether by treachery, or mere accident, is uncertain, the Powder was blown up; and many, who stood nearest, killed; and many more maimed; among whom Sir *Ralph Hopton*, and Serjeant-Major *Sheldon* were miserably hurt; of which, Major *Sheldon*, who was thought to be in less danger than the other, died the next day, to the general grief of the whole Army, where he was wonderfully beloved, as a Man of an undaunted Courage, and as great gentleness of Nature. Sir *Ralph Hopton*, having hardly so much life, as not to be numbered with the dead, was put into a Litter, and then the Army marched to their old Quarters at *Marsfield*; exceedingly cast down with their morning's misfortune (Sir *Ralph Hopton* being indeed the Soldiers darling) where they reposed themselves the next day, principally in care of Sir *Ralph Hopton*; who, though there were hope of his recovery, was not fit to travel. In this time many of the Horse, which had been routed in the morning, before the Hill was won, found the way to *Oxford*; and, according to the custom of those

who run away, reported all to be lost, with many particular accidents, which they fancied very like to happen when they left the Field; but the next day brought a punctual advertisement from the Marquis, but, withal, a desire of a Regiment or two of fresh Horse, and a supply of Ammunition; whereupon the Earl of *Crawford* with his Regiment of Horse, consisting of near five hundred, was directed to advance that way, with such a proportion of Ammunition as was desired.

After a day's rest at *Marsfield*, it being understood that Sir *William Waller* was still at *Bath* (his Army having been rather surpris'd and discomforted with the incredible boldness of the *Cornish* Foot, than much weakened by the Number slain, which was no greater than on the King's part) and that he had sent for fresh supply from *Bristol*: it was concluded, rather to march to *Oxford*, and so to join with the King's Army, than to stay and attend the Enemy, who was so near his supplies: And so they marched towards *Gloucester*. But when Sir *William Waller* had Intelligence of the blowing up of the Powder, of which he well knew there was scarcely enough before, and of the hurt it had done, he infused new spirit into his Men; and verily believed, that they had no Ammunition, and that the loss of Sir *Ralph Hopton* (whom the People took to be the Soul of that Army, the other Names being not so much spoken of, or so well known, and at this time believed to be dead) would be found in the Spirits of the Soldiers; and having gotten some fresh Men from *Bristol*, and more from the inclinations of the

B O O K | three Counties of *Wilts*, *Glocester*, and *Somerset*,
VII. which joined about *Bath*, in the most absolute dis-
 affected parts of all three, he followed the Marquis
 towards *Chippenham*; to which he was as near from
Bath, as the other from *Marstonfield*.

The next day, early in the morning, upon notice
 that the Enemy was in distance, the Prince, and the
 Marquis drew back the Army through *Chippenham*,
 and presented themselves in Battalia to the Enemy;
 being very well contented to fight in such a place,
 where the success was to depend more on their
 Foot, who were unquestionably excellent, than
 on their Horse, which were at best weary, though
 their Officers were, to Envy, forward and resolute.
 But Sir *William Waller*, who was a right good
 chuser of advantages, liked not that ground; re-
 lying as much upon his Horse, who had gotten
 Credit; and Courage, and as little upon his Foot,
 who were only well Armed, and well Bodied, very
 vulgarly Spirited, and Officered: so that having
 stood all night in Battalia, and the Enemy not com-
 ing on, the Prince and Marquis, the next day,
 advanced towards the *Devizes*; Sir *Nicholas Slanning*,
 with great Spirit and Prudence, securing the Rear
 with strong Parties of Musqueteers; with which he
 gave the Enemy, who pressed upon them very
 smartly, so much Interruption, that Sir *William*
Waller, despairing of overtaking, sent a Trumpet
 to the Marquis, with a Letter; offering a pitched
 Field at a place of his own chusing, out of the way,
 The which being easily understood to be only a
 Stratagem to beget a delay in the march, the Mar-

quis carried the Trumpet three or four miles with him, and then sent him back with such an Answer as was fit. There were, all this day, perpetual and sharp skirmishes in the Rear; the Enemy pressing very hard, and being always with loss repulsed, till the Army safely reached the *Devizes*.

Then the case was altered for their retreat to *Oxford*, the Enemy being upon them with improvement of Courage, and improvement of Numbers; Sir *William Waller* having dispersed his Warrants over the Country, signifying, "that he had beaten the Marquis," and requiring the People "to rise in all places for the apprehension of his scattered, and dispersed Troops;" which confidence, Men conceived, could not proceed from less than a manifest Victory; and so they flocked to Him as the Master of the Field. The Foot were no more now to make the retreat, the situation of the place they were now in, being such as they could move no way towards *Oxford*, but over a Campaign of many miles, where the stronger in Horse must needs prevail.

Hereupon, it was unanimously advised, and consented to, that the Lord Marquis and Prince *Maurice* should that night break through, with all the Horse, to *Oxford*; and that Sir *Ralph Hopton* (who, by this, was supposed past danger of death, and could hear and speak well enough, though he could not see or stir) with the Earl of *Marlborough*, who was General of the Artillery, the Lord *Mohun*, and other good Officers of Foot, should stay there with their Foot, and Cannon, where it was hoped they might defend themselves, for a few days, till the General

B O O K might return with relief from *Oxford*; which was
VII. not above thirty miles off. This resolution was pursued; and, the same night, all the Horse got safe away into the King's Quarters, and the Prince, and Marquis, in the morning, came to *Oxford*, by which time, Sir *William Waller* had drawn all his Forces about the *Devizes*. The Town was open, without the least Fortification, or Defence, but small Ditches and Hedges; upon which the Foot were placed, and some pieces of Cannon conveniently planted. The Avenues, which were many, were quickly Barriadoed to hinder the entrance of the Horse, which was principally apprehended. Sir *William Waller* had soon notice of the remove of the Horse; and therefore, intending that pursuit no farther, he brought his whole Force close to the Town, and beleaguered it round; and having raised a Battery upon a Hill near the Town, he poured in his shot upon it without intermission, and attempted to enter in several other places with Horse, Foot, and Cannon; but was in all places more resolutely resisted, and repulsed. At the same time, having Intelligence (as his Intelligence was always most exact in whatsoever concerned him) of the Earl of *Crawford's* marching with a supply of Powder, according to order, after the first Battle of *Lansdown*, he sent a strong Party of Horse and Dragoons to intercept him; who, before he knew of the alterations which had happened, and of the remove of the Horse towards *Oxford*, was so far engaged, that he hardly escaped with the loss of his Ammunition, and a Troop or two of his Horse.

Upon this improvement of his success, Sir *William Waller* reckoned his Victory out of question; and thereupon sent a Trumpet into the Town to summon the besieged, to let them know, " that he had cut off their relief, and that their State was now desperate; and therefore advised them to submit themselves to the Parliament, with whom he would mediate on their behalf." They in the Town were not sorry for the Overture; not that they apprehended it would produce any conditions they should accept, but that they might gain some time of rest by it: for the straits they were in, were too great for any minds not prepared to preserve their honor at any rates. When the Enemy came first before the Town, and Guards were supplied with Ammunition for their duty, there was but one hundred and fifty weight of Match left in the Store; whereupon diligent Officers were directed to search every House in the Town, and to take all the Bed-cords they could find, and to cause them to be speedily beaten, and boiled. By this sudden expedient, there was, by the next morning, provided fifteen hundred weight of such serviceable Match, as very well endured that sharp service. The compass of the ground they were to keep was so large, and the Enemy pressed so hard upon all places, that their whole Body were upon perpetual duty together, neither Officer, or Soldier having any time for rest; and the activity of the Chief-Officers was most necessary to keep up the Courage of the Common-Men, who well enough understood the danger they were in, and therefore they were very glad of this Message and returned, " that they

B O O K " would send an Officer to Treat, if a Cessation were
 VII. " agreed to during the time of the Treaty;" which
 was consented to, if it were suddenly expedited.

On the Party of the Besieged were proposed such terms, as might take up most time in the Debate, and might imply Courage and Resolution to hold out. Sir *William Waller*, on the other hand, offered only Quarter, and civil usage to the Officers, and leave to the Common-Soldiers to return to their Houses without their Arms, except they would voluntarily chuse to serve the Parliament. These being terms many of the Officers would not have submitted to in the last extreme, the Treaty ended; after those in the Town had gained what they only looked for, seven or eight hours sleep, and so long time sparing of Ammunition. The truth is Sir *William Waller* was so confident that they were at his Mercy, that he had written to the Parliament, " that their
 " work was done, and that, by the next Post, he
 " would send the Number, and Quality of his Pri-
 " soners;" neither did he imagine it possible, that any relief could have been sent from *Oxford*; the Earl of *Essex*, to whom he had signified his success, and the posture he was in, lying with his whole Army at *Thame*, within ten miles of it. But the importance was too well understood by the King to omit any thing. that might, with the utmost hazard, be attempted for the redeeming those Men, who had wrought such wonders for him. And therefore, as soon as the Marquis, and Prince, arrived at *Oxford*, with the sad and unexpected news, and relation of the distress of their friends, though the Queen was
 then

then on her march towards *Oxford*, and the King had appointed to meet her two days Journey for her security, his Majesty resolved to take only his own Guards of Horse, and Prince *Rupert's* Regiment, for that expedition; and sent the Lord *Wilmot* with all the rest of the Horse, to march that very day in which the advertisement came to him, towards the *Devizes*; so that the Marquis and the Prince coming to *Oxford*, on the *Monday* morning, the Lord *Wilmot*, that night, moved towards the work; and Prince *Maurice* returning with him as a Volunteer, but the Lord *Wilmot* Commanding in Chief, appeared, on the *Wednesday* about noon, upon the plain within two miles of the Town.

The Lord *Wilmot* had with him fifteen hundred Horse, and no more, and two small Field-pieces, which he shot off, to give the Town notice of his coming; having it in his hopes, that, it being a fair Campaign about the Town, when the Enemy should rise from before it, he should be able in spite of them to join with the Foot, and so to have a fair Field for it; which would be still disadvantageous enough, the Enemy being Superior by much in Horse, very few of those, who had broken away from the *Devizes* (except the Prince himself, the Earl of *Carnarvon*, and some other Officers) being come up with them, because they were tired, and dispersed. The Enemy, careful to prevent the joining of this Party of Horse with the Foot, and fully advertised of their coming, drew off, on all parts, from the Town; and put themselves in Battalia upon the top of a fair Hill, called *Roundway-Down*; over which the King's Forces were necessarily to

B O O K march, being full two miles off the Town: they
VII. within conceived it hardly possibly, that the relief, they expected from *Oxford*, could so soon arrive; all the Messengers, who were sent to give notice of it, having miscarried by the closeness of the Siege; and therefore suspected the warning-pieces from the Plain, and the drawing off the Town by the Enemy to be a Stratagem to cozen the Foot from those Posts they defended, into the open Field; and so very reasonably, being in readiness to march, they waited a surer Evidence, that their Friends were at hand; which shortly arrived, and assured them, "that the Prince was near and expected them."

It will be easily conceived, with what alacrity they advanced to meet him; but Sir *William Waller* had purposely chose that ground to hinder that conjunction, and advanced so fast on the Lord *Wilmot*, that without such removes, and traverses, as might give his Men some apprehension, that Lord could not expect the Foot from the Town; and therefore he put his Troops in Order upon that ground to expect the Enemies Charge, who were somewhat more than Musquet-shot off in order of Battle.

Here Sir *William Waller*, out of pure gaiety, departed from an advantage he could not again recover; for being in excellent order of Battle, with strong wings of Horse to his Foot, and a good Reserve placed, and his Cannon usefully planted, apprehending still the conjunction between the Horse and the Foot in the Town, and gratifying his Enemy with the same contempt, which had so often brought inconveniences upon them, and discerning their

number Inferior to that he had before (as he thought) mastered, he marched, with his whole Body of Horse, from his Foot, to Charge the Enemy; appointing Sir *Arthur Haslerig* with his Cuirassiers apart, to make the first impresson; who was encountered by Sir *John Byron*, in whose Regiment the Earl of *Carnarvon* Charged as a Volunteer; and after a sharp conflict, in which Sir *Arthur Haslerig* received many wounds, that impenetrable Regiment was Routed, and, in a full Career, chased upon their other Horse. At the same time, the Lord *Wilmot* Charging them from division to division, as they were ranged, in half an hour, so sudden Alterations the accidents of War introduce, the whole entire Body of the Triumphant Horse were so totally Routed, and Dispersed, that there was not one of them to be seen upon that large spacious Down; every Man shifting for himself with greater danger by the Precipices, of that Hill, than he could have undergone by opposing his pursuer. But as it was an unhappy ground to fly, so it was ill for the pursuer; and after the Rout, more perished by falls and bruises from their Horses, down the Precipices, than by the Sword. The Foot stood still firm, making show of a gallant Resistance, but the Lord *Wilmot* quickly seized their Cannon, and turned them upon them, at the same time that the *Cornish* Foot, who were by this come from the Town, were ready likewise to Charge them; upon which their hearts failed; and so they were Charged on all sides, and either killed, or taken Prisoners, very few escaping; the *Cornish* retaining too fresh a Memory of their late distresses, and revenging themselves on those who had contri-

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The Battle of
Roundway-
Down,
wherein Sir
William
Waller is
Routed.

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buted thereunto. Sir *William Waller* himself, with a small Train, fled into *Bristol*, which had sacrificed a great part of their Garrison in his Defeat; and so were even ready to expire at his entry into the Town, himself bringing the first news of his disaster.

This glorious day, for it was a day of Triumph, redeemed for that time the King's whole Affairs, so that all Clouds that shadowed them seemed to be dispelled, and a bright light of success to shine over the whole Kingdom. There were in this Battle slain, on the Enemies part, above six hundred on the place; nine hundred Prisoners taken, besides two or three hundred retaken and redeemed, whom they had gathered up in the Skirmishes, and pursuit; with all their Cannon, being eight pieces of Brass-Ordinance; all their Arms, Ammunition, Waggon, Baggage, and Victual; eight-and-twenty Foot-Ensigns, and nine Cornets; and all this by a Party of fifteen hundred Horse, with two small Field-pieces (for the Victory was perfect upon the matter, before the *Cornish* came up; though the Enemies Foot were suffered to stand in a Body uncharged, out of ceremony, till They came; that they might be refreshed with a share in the Conquest) against a Body of full two thousand Horse, five hundred Dragoons, and near three thousand Foot, with an excellent Train of Artillery. So that the *Cornish* had great reason to think their deliverance, and Victory at *Roundway*, more signal and wonderful, than the other at *Stratton*, save that the first might be thought the Parent of the latter, and the loss on the King's Party was less; for in This there were slain very few; and, of Name, none but

Dudley Smith, an honest and valiant young Gentleman, who was always a Volunteer with the Lord *Wilmot*, and among the first upon any action of danger.

Besides the present fruit of this Victory, the King received an advantage from the Jealousy, that, from thence, grew among the Officers of the Parliament-Armies. For Sir *William Waller* believed himself to be absolutely betrayed, and sacrificed by the Earl of *Essex*, out of envy at the great things he had done, which seemed to eclipse His Glories; and complained; “ that he lying with his whole Army within ten miles of *Oxford*, should suffer the Chief strength of that place to march thirty miles to destroy him, without so much as sending out a Party to follow them, or to Alarm *Oxford*, by which they would have been probably recalled.” On the other hand, the Earl, disdaining to be thought his Rival, reproached the other with “ unfoldierly neglects, and want of Courage, to be beaten by a handful of Men, and to have deserted his Foot and Cannon, without engaging his own Person in one Charge against the Enemy.” Wherever the fault was, it was never forgiven; but from the Enmity that proceeded from thence, the King often afterwards reaped very notable, and seasonable advantages; which will be remembered in their places.

This blessed Defeat happened to be upon the same day, and upon the same time of the day, when the King met the Queen upon the Field near *Keinton*, under *Edge-hill*, where the Battle had been fought in *October* before; and before their Majesties came to *Oxford*, they received the happy news of it. It is

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easy to imagine the joy with which it was received, all Men raising their fallen Spirits to too great a height, as though they should now go through all the work without farther opposition; and this transport to either extremes was too natural upon all the Vicissitudes of the War; and it was some allay to the welcome news of the Victory to some Men, that it had been obtained under the Command and Conduct of *Wilmot*; who was very much in Prince *Rupert's* disesteem, and not in any notable degree of favor with the King, but much beloved by all the good fellowship of the Army; which was too great a Body. It was now time for the King's Army, Victorious in so many Encounters, to take the Field; upon What Enterprize, was the Question. This overthrow of *Waller* had infinitely surpris'd, and increased the distractions at *London*. They had seen the Copy of the Warrants, which his vanity had caused to be dispersed, after the Action at *Lansdown*; in which he declared, " that he had Routed the Marquis's Army " and was in pursuit of them; and therefore Com-
" manded the Justices of Peace, and Constables, to
" give order for the apprehension of them, as they
" fled dispersed;" and expected every day, that the Marquis would be sent up Prisoner: and now to hear that his whole invincible Army was defeated', and himself fled, upon the matter alone (for ill news is for the most part made worse, as the best is reported to be better than it is) brought them to their Wits ends; so that they could little advance the recruiting the Earl of *Essex* his Army; who in his Person likewise grew more sullen towards them, and resented

their little regard of him, and grew every day more conversant with the Earls of *Northumberland* and *Holland*, and others who were most weary of the War, and would be glad of Peace upon easy terms.

The King's Army received a fair addition, by the conjuncture with those Forces which attended the Queen; for her Majesty brought with her above two thousand Foot, well Armed, and one thousand Horse, and six pieces of Cannon, and two Mortars, and about one hundred Waggons: So that as soon as their Majesties came to *Oxford*, the Earl of *Essex*, who had spent his time about *Thame*, and *Aylesbury*, without any Action after that Skirmish in which Mr. *Hambden* was slain, safe by small Parties of which there was none of Name, or Note, but one handsome smart conflict between a Party of five hundred Horse and Dragoons, Commanded by Colonel *Middleton*, a Scotch-man, on the Parliament-Party, and a Regiment of Horse, Commanded by Sir *Charles Lucas*, on the King's; where, after a very Soldierly contest, and more blood drawn than was usual upon such Actions, the King's Party prevailed, returning with some Prisoners of Name, and the slaughter of one hundred of their Enemy, not without some loss of their own: The Earl, I say, retired with his Army broken, and disheartened to *Uxbridge*, giving over any thought of fighting with the King, till he should be recruited, with Horse, Men, and Money; and suffering no less in the talk of the People (who began to assume a great freedom in discourse) for not interposing to hinder the Queen's march to *Oxford*, and joining with the King, than for sitting still so near

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The King
meets the
Queen near
Keinton; she
coming with a
great Recruit.

The Earl of
Essex retires
from *Thame*
with his Army
to *Uxbridge*.

B O O K *Oxford*, whilst the Lord *Wilmot* went from thence
VII. to the ruin of Sir *William Waller*.

After which Defeat, the Lord *Wilmot* retired to *Oxford* to attend his Majesty; and the *Cornish Army* (for that name it deservedly kept still, though it received so good an increase by the Marquis, and Prince's joining with them) drew back, and possessed themselves of *Bath*, which was soon quitted to them, upon the overthrow of *Waller*; that Garrison being withdrawn to reinforce *Bristol*. At *Bath* they rested, and refreshed themselves, till they might receive new Orders from the King; who, upon full advice, and consideration of the State he was in, and the broken condition of the Enemy, resolved to make an attempt upon the City of *Bristol*; to which Prince *Rupert* was most inclined, for his being disappointed in a former design; and where there were many well affected to the King's Service from the beginning, and more since the execution of those two eminent Citizens. And the disesteem generally had of the Courage of *Nathaniel Fiennes*, the Governor, made the design to be thought the more reasonable; so the Marquis, and Prince *Maurice*, returned to *Bath*, upon agreement to appear, on such a day, with their whole strength before *Bristol*, on the *Somersetshire* side, when Prince *Rupert* with the *Oxford*-Forces would appear before it, on the *Gloucestershire* side.

On the four-and-twentieth of *July*, both Armies lay down before it; Quartering their Horse in that manner, that none could go out or into the City, without great hazard of being taken; and the same

Bristol Besieged by
 Prince
Rupert.

day, with the assistance of some Seamen, who were prepared before, they seized all the Ships that were in *King-road*; which were not only laden with goods of great value, as Plate, Money, and the best sort of all Commodities, which those who suspected the worst had sent abroad, 'but with many Persons of Quality; who, being unwilling to run the hazard of a Siege. thought that way to have secured themselves, and to have escaped to *London*; and so were all taken Prisoners. The next day, Prince *Rupert* came to his Brother, and the Marquis, and a general Council of all the principal Officers of both Armies being assembled, it was Debated. "in what Manner, they should proceed, by Assault or Approach."

There were in the Town five-and-twenty hundred Foot, and a Regiment of Horse and Dragoons; the Line about the Town was finished; yet in some places the graff was wider, and deeper than in others. The Castle within the Town was very well prepared, and supplied with great store of Provisions to endure a Siege. The opinions were several: The Officers of the *Cornish* were of opinion, "that it was best to proceed by way of Approach; because, the ground being very good, it would in a very short time be done; and since there was no Army of the Enemy in a possibility to relieve it, the securest way would be the best; whereas the Works were so good, that they must expect to lose very many Men; and, if they were beaten off, all their Summer.hopes would be destroyed; it not being easy, again to make up the spirit of

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“ the Army for a new Action. Besides, they alledged,
 “ the well affected Party in the City, which was
 “ believed to be very great, would, after they
 “ had been closely Besieged three or four days,
 “ have a greater influence upon the Soldier, and
 “ be able to do more towards the Surrender, than
 “ they could upon a Storm; when they would
 “ be equally sensible of the disorder of the Soldier,
 “ and their own damage by plunder, as the other;
 “ and the too late example of the executed Citi-
 “ zens, would keep Men from offering at any in-
 “ surrection in the City. ”

On the other hand, Prince *Rupert*, and all the
 Officers of His Army very earnestly desired to Assault
 it, alledging, “ the Work to be easy, and the Sol-
 “ diers fitter for any brisk attempt, than a dull
 “ patient design; and that the Army would be more
 “ weakened by the latter, than the former: that
 “ the City, not having yet recovered the consterna-
 “ tion of Sir *William Waller's* Defeat, was so full
 “ of horror, that it would make a very weak De-
 “ fence: that there was no Soldier of experience in
 “ the Town, and the Governor himself not like to
 “ endure the terror of a Storm: whereas, if they
 “ gave them time to consider, and to look long
 “ upon them with a Wall between, they would
 “ grow confirmed, and resolute, and courage would
 “ supply the place of skill; and having plenty of all
 “ kinds of Provisions within the Town, they would
 “ grow strong, and peremptory, whilst the Be-
 “ siegers grew less vigorous, and disheartened.”
 These reasons, and the Prince's importunity, with

some insinuations of knowing more than was fit to be spoken, as if somewhat would be done within the Town, that must not be mentioned, and a glorious contempt of danger, prevailed so far, that it was consented to, on all parts, to Assault the Town the next morning at three places on the *Somersetshire*-side, and at three places on the *Glocestershire*-side, at the break of day. The truth is, both opinions, with regard to their different circumstances, were in themselves reasonable. For the *Glocestershire*-side, where Prince *Rupert* was, might be Stormed, the graff being shallow, and the Wall, in some places, low, and weak; which could not be easily Approached, by reason the ground was rocky, and the redoubts high and very strong, which overlooked the ground; on the other side, the ground was very easy to Approach, and as inconvenient, and dangerous to Storm, by reason of a plain level before the Line, and a broad and deep graff, and the Line. throughout, better flankered than the other.

The next morning, with little other Provisions fit for such a Work, than the Courage of the Assailants, both Armies fell on. On the West side, where the *Cornish* were, they assaulted the Line in three places; one division led by Sir *Nicholas Slanning*, assisted with Colonel *John Trevannion*, Lieutenant - Colonel *Slingsby*, and three more Field-Officers; too great a number of such Officers to conduct so small a Party as five hundred Men; if there had not been an immoderate disdain of danger, and appetite of glory: Another division, on the right hand, was led by Colonel *Buck*, assisted by Colonel *Wagstaffe*,

B O O K VII. Colonel *Bernard Afhley*, who commanded the Regiment of the Lord Marquis *Hertford*, with other Field-Officers: And the third division, on the left hand, led by Sir *Thomas Basset*, who was Major-General of the *Cornish*. These three divisions fell on together with that Courage, and Resolution, as nothing but death could control; and though the middle division got into the graff, and so near filled it, that some mounted the Wall, yet by the prodigious disadvantage of the ground, and the full defence the Besieged made within, they were driven back with a great slaughter; the Common-Soldiers, after their Chief-Officers were killed, or desperately wounded, finding it a bootless attempt.

On Prince *Rupert's* side, it was Assaulted with equal Courage, and almost equal loss, but with better success; for though that division led on by the Lord *Grandison*, Colonel-General of the Foot, was beaten off, the Lord *Grandison* himself being hurt; and the other, led by Colonel *Bellasis*, likewise had no better fortune; yet Colonel *Washington*, with a less Party, finding a place in the Curtain (between the places Assaulted by the other two) weaker than the rest, entered, and quickly made room for the Horse to follow. The Enemy, as soon as they saw the Line entered in one place, either out of fear, or by Command of their Officers, quit their Posts; so that the Prince entered with his Foot and Horse into the Suburbs; sending for one thousand of the *Cornish* Foot, which were presently sent to second him; and marched up to *Fromegate*, losing many Men, and some very good Officers, by shot

from the Walls, and Windows; in so much as all Men were much cast down to see so little gotten with so great a loss; for they had still a more difficult entrance into the Town, than they had yet passed, and where their Horse could be of no use to them; when, to the exceeding comfort of Generals, and Soldiers, the City beat a Parley; which the Prince willingly embracing, and getting their Hostages into his hands, sent Colonel *Gerrard* and another Officer to the Governor to Treat. The Treaty began about two of the Clock in the afternoon, and, before ten at night, the Articles were agreed on, and signed by all Parties.

1. " That the Governor, *Nathaniel Fiennes*, together with all the Officers both of Horse and Foot, now within, and about the City of *Bristol*, Castle, and Forts, may march out to morrow morning by nine of the Clock, with their full Arms, Bag and Baggage, provided it be their own Goods: And that the Common Foot-Soldiers march out without Arms, and the Troopers with their Horses, and Swords, leaving their other Arms behind them, with a safe Convey to *Warminster*; and after, not to be molested in their march, by any of the King's Forces, for the space of three days.
2. " That there may be Carriages allowed and provided to carry away their Bag and Baggage, and sick and hurt Soldiers.
3. " That the King's Forces march not into the Town, till the Parliament- Forces are marched out; which is to be at nine of the Clock.
4. " That all Prisoners in the City be delivered

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It is rendered upon
Articles:

B O O K “ up; and that Captain *Eyres*, and Captain *Cookein*,
 VII. “ who were taken at the *Devizes*, be released.

5. “ That Sir *John Horner*, Sir *John Seymour*, Mr.
 “ *Edward Stevens*, and all other Knights, Gentle-
 “ men, Citizens, and other Persons, that are now
 “ in the City, may, if they please, with their Goods,
 “ Wives, and Families, Bag and Baggage, have
 “ free liberty to return to their own homes, or
 “ elsewhere, and there to rest in safety, or ride,
 “ and travel with the Governor, and Forces: and
 “ such of them, and their Families, as shall be left
 “ behind, by reason of sickness or other cause, may
 “ have liberty, so soon as they can conveniently,
 “ to depart this Town with safety; provided that
 “ all Gentlemen, and other Persons, shall have three
 “ days liberty to reside here, or depart with their
 “ Goods, which they please.

6. “ That all the Inhabitants of the City shall be
 “ secured in their Persons, Families, and Estates,
 “ free from plundering, and all other violence, or
 “ wrong whatsoever.

7. “ That the Charters, and Liberties of this
 “ City may be preserved; and that the Ancient
 “ Government thereof, and present Governors, and
 “ Officers, may remain and continue in their former
 “ condition, according to his Majesty's Charters,
 “ and Pleasure.

8. “ That, for avoiding Inconveniences and Dis-
 “ tractions, the quartering of Soldiers be referred,
 “ or left to the Mayor, and Governor of the same
 “ City for the time being.

9. “ That all such, as have carried any Goods

into the Castle may have free liberty to carry the
 " same forth. B O O K
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10 " That the Forces, that are to march out, are
 " to leave behind them all Cannon, and Ammuni-
 " tion, with their Colors, and such Arms as is
 " before expressed."

The next morning, if not before (for the truth
 is, from the time that the Treaty was first offered,
 they in the Town kept no Guards, nor observed
 any order; but Their Soldiers run away to the
 Priory, and many of His Soldiers went into the
 Town; his Highness was possessed of *Bristol*, the
 Army then marching away. Here the ill example
 of *feeling*, in the breach of the Articles, was re-
 membered, and unhappily followed; for all that
Durham was now here. So that they, with some
 Color of right, or retaliation, and the rest, by Their
 example, used great Licence to the Soldiers, who
 should have been safely conducted; which reflect-
 ed much upon the Prince, though he used his
 utmost power to suppress it; and charged Colonel
Fiennes to be accessary to his own wrong, by mar-
 ching out of the Town an hour before his appoint-
 ment; and thereby his Convoy was not ready; and
 it another Gate than was appointed and agreed on.
 And as the Articles were thus unhappily violated
 on those who went away, so they were not enough
 observed to those who stayed, and to the City it-
 self: for many of Colonel *Fiennes's* Soldiers taking
 conditions, and entering with the King's Army,
 instructed their new Friends, Who were most dis-
 affected; so that one whole Street upon the Bridge,

BOOK VII. the Inhabitants whereof lay under some brand of Malignity, though, no doubt, there were many honest Men among them, was almost totally plundered; which, because there was but little Justice done upon the Transgressors, was believed to be done by connivance from the Officers, and more discredited the King's Forces, and his Cause, than was then taken notice of, or discovered. It was a noble attribute given to the brave *Fabricius*, *qui aliquid esse crederet & in hostem nefas*. I wish I could excuse those swervings from Justice, and Right, which were too frequently practised against Contracts, under the notion, that they, with whom they were made, were Rebels, and could not be too ill used; when, as the cause deserved, so it needed all the ingenuity, and integrity, in the propugners of it, to keep despair from the Guilty, who were by much too numerous for the Innocent.

This reduction of *Bristol* was a full tide of prosperity to the King, and made him Master of the second City of his Kingdom, and gave him the undisturbed possession of one of the richest Counties of the Kingdom (for the Rebels had now no standing Garrison, or the least visible influence upon any part of *Somersetshire*) and rendered *Wales* (which was before well affected, except some Towns in *Pembrokeshire*) more useful to him; being freed of the fear of *Bristol*, and consequently of the charge, that always attends those fears; and restored to the Trade with *Bristol*; which was the greatest support of those parts. Yet the King might very well have said, what King *Pyrrhus* heretofore did, after his
second

second Battle, by the City of *Afculum*, with the Ro- B O O K
mans, where he won the Victory; "If We win VII.
"another at this price, We are utterly undone."

And truly his Majesty's loss before this Town, was inestimable, and very hard to be repaired. I am persuaded there were slain, upon the several Assaults, of Common Men, but such as were tried and incomparable Foot, about five hundred; and abundance of excellent Officers, whereof many were of prime Command, and Quality.

On the *Cornish* side, fell, besides Major *Kendall*, and many other Inferior Officers, excellent in their degree; Colonel *Buck*, a modest and a stout Commander, and of good experience in War; who having got over the Graff, and even to the top of the Wall, was knocked down with a Halbert, and perished in the Graff: Sir *Nicholas Stanning*, and Colonel *John Trevannion*, the Life and Soul of the *Cornish* Regiments, whose memories can never be enough celebrated; who being led by no impulsion, but of Conscience, and their own observation of the ill practices and designs of the great Conductors (for they both were of the House of Commons) engaged themselves with the first in the opposition; and as soon as Sir *Ralph Hopton*, and those other Gentlemen came into *Cornwal*, joined with them; and being both of singular Reputation, and good Fortunes there, the one in Possession, the other in Reversion after his Father, they engaged their Persons and Estates in the Service; rather doing great things, than affecting that it should be taken notice of to be done by them; applying themselves to all infirmities, and

BOOK VII. condescending to all Capacities, for removing all obstructions, which accidentally arose among those, who could only prosper by being of one mind Sir *Nicholas Slanning* was Governor of *Pendennis-Castle*, upon the credit and security whereof, the King's Party in that Country first depended, and by the Command it had of the Harbour of *Falmouth*, was, or might be, supplied with all that was necessary. He was indeed a young Man of admirable parts, a sharp and discerning Wit, a stayed and solid Judgment, a gentle and most obliging Behaviour, and a Courage so clear and keen, as, even without the other ornaments, would have rendered him very considerable: They were both young, neither of them above eight-and-twenty, of entire friendship to one another, and to Sir *Bevil Greenvil*, whose body was not yet buried; they were both hurt almost in the same minute, and in the same place; both shot in the thigh with Musquet-Bullets; their bones broken, the one dying presently, the other some few days after; and both had the Royal sacrifice of their Sovereign's very particular sorrow, and the concurrence of all good Men's; and that which is a greater solemnity to their memories, as it fares with most great and virtuous Men, whose loss is better understood long afterwards, they were as often lamented, as the accidents in the public Affairs made the Courage, and Fidelity of the *Cornish* of greatest signification to the Cause.

On the North side, of Prince *Rupert's* Army, fell very many good Officers, the chief of whom was Colonel *Henry Lunsford*, an Officer of extraordinary Sobriety, Industry, and Courage; near whom, his

excellent Lieutenant-Colonel *Moyle* was likewise hurt, and died within few days, both shot out of a Window after they had entered the Suburbs. There were hurt, the Lord Viscount *Grandison*, Nephew to the Great Duke of *Buckingham*, who was Colonel General of the King's Foot; Colonel *John Belafis*, since Lord *Belafis*; Colonel *Bernard Ashley*; Colonel Sir *John Owen*; and many other Officers of name, of whom none of Quality died of their wounds but the Lord *Grandison*; whose loss can never be enough lamented. He was a young Man of so virtuous a habit of mind, that no temptation or provocation could corrupt him; so great a Lover of Justice, and Integrity, that no example, necessity, or even the barbarity of this War, could make him swerve from the most precise Rules of it; and of that rare Piety and Devotion, that the Court, or Camp, could not show a more faultless Person, or to whose example young Men might more reasonably conform themselves. His Personal Valor, and Courage of all kinds (for he had sometimes indulged so much to the Corrupt opinion of Honor, as to venture himself in Duels) was very eminent, insomuch as he was accused of being too prodigal of his Person; his Affection, and Zeal, and Obedience, to the King, was such as became a branch of that Family. And he was wont to say, "that if he had not understanding enough to know the uprightness of the Cause, nor Loyalty enough to inform him of the Duty of a Subject, yet the very obligations of Gratitude to the King, on the behalf of his House, were such, as his Life was but a due Sacrifice;" and therefore,

B O O K he no sooner saw the War unavoidable, than he engaged all his Brethren, as well as himself in the Service; and there were then three more of them in Command in the Army, where he was so unfortunately cut off.

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As soon as the News of the taking of *Bristol* came to the King at *Oxford*, after a solemn Thanksgiving to God for the Success, which was immediately, and publicly performed, his Majesty assembled his Privy-Council, to consider how this great Blessing in War might be applied to the procuring a happy Peace; and that this might be the last Town he should purchase at the price of blood. It was evident, that, as this last Victory added great lustre, and beauty to the whole face of his Affairs, so it would produce an equal paleness, and be an ominous presage to the Parliament; where the Jealousies and Apprehensions between themselves still grew higher, and new remedies still proposed, which were generally thought worse than the disease.

Upon the News of the Lord *Fairfax's* being Defeated in the North, which came about this time, they resolved to send a Committee of the two Houses into *Scotland*, "to desire their Brethren of that Kingdom presently to advance with an Army for their Relief;" which was thought so desperate a Cure, that the Lords naming the Earl of *Rutland*, and Lord *Grey of Warke*, for that Embassy, the Earl upon indisposition of Health procured a release; and the other, who had never declined any employment they would confer on him, so peremptorily refused to meddle in it, that he was committed to the Tower;

The two
Houses send
Commission-
ers into
Scotland for
relief.

and in the end, they were compelled to depute only Commoners to that Service: and so Sir *William Armyne*, young Sir *Henry Vane*, and two more, assisted with Mr. *Marshall* and Mr. *Nye*, two of their powerful Clergy, were embarked in that Negotiation; upon which, they who sent them, were so far from being confident, and so little satisfied, that they should be driven to bring in Foreign Forces, with the purpose whereof they had so long traduced the King, that there was, some few desperate Persons only excepted, even a universal desire of Peace; and the Earl of *Essex* Himself, writing to the Speaker of the House of Commons, of the defects in his Army, and of his wants of Horse, Men, and Money, advised, “that they would think of sending some reasonable Propositions to the King, for the procuring a Safe Peace;” which being the first intimation, he had ever given to that purpose, together with his familiarity, and correspondence with those Lords, who were known passionately to desire an accommodation, gave them sad apprehensions; which were increased by some severe Messages they received from him, for his Vindication from the foul Aspersions, and Calumnies, which were generally and publicly laid on him, for his inactivity after the winning *Reading*, whilst the Queen marched securely to *Oxford*, and Sir *William Waller* was destroyed; as if “he would think of some way of righting Himself, if They were not sensible on His behalf.”

How to work upon these discomposed humors, and to reduce them to such temper, that they might

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consent to the Kingdom's Peace, was the Argument of the King's consultations: but by what Expedient to promote this, was the Difficulty. After the breach of the last Treaty, and when the King had in vain labored to revive it, and could not procure any Answer from them to his last Messages; but instead thereof his Messenger imprisoned, tried before a Council of War for his Life, and still in custody, and a Declaration, "that whosoever should be employed by his Majesty, on any Message to them, without Their leave, should be proceeded against as a Spy (so that though they pretended to be his great Council, they upon the matter now protested against any relation to his Majesty) he advised with his Council, "what might be fit for him to do, to lessen the Reverence and Reputation of them with the People:" for the superstition towards the name of a Parliament was so general, that the King had wisely forbore to charge the two Houses with the Treason, and Rebellion which was raised, but imputed it to particular Persons, who were most visibly and actually engaged in it. Some were of opinion, "that, all the Members who stayed there, and sat in either House, being guilty of so many Treasonable-Acts, thereby the Parliament was actually dissolved by the same reason, as a Corporation, by great Misdemeanour and Crime, might forfeit their Charter; and therefore that the King should, by his Proclamation, declare the dissolution of it, and then consider whether it were fit to call another:" but this opinion was generally disliked, both "because it was conceived not to

“ be just ; for the Treason of those who were pre-
 “ sent, could not forfeit the right of those who were
 “ away ; neither was it evident , that all that were
 “ present, consented to the ill that was done ; and
 “ the King’s declaring a Parliament to be dissolved,
 “ contrary to an Act of Parliament, was believed,
 “ would prove an Act so ungracious to the People,
 “ for the consequences of it, that the King would
 “ be an exceeding loser by such an attempt ; and
 “ that many, in such a case, would return thither,
 “ who out of conscience had withdrawn from that
 “ Assembly.”

In Conclusion, the advice was unanimous, “ that
 “ his Majesty should declare the Orders, and Pro-
 “ ceedings of one or both Houses to be void, by
 “ reason the Members did not enjoy the Freedom
 “ and Liberty of Parliament ; and therefore should
 “ require his good Subjects, no longer to be misled
 “ by them :” and, to that purpose, the King had
 issued his Proclamation six Weeks before this happy
 turn in his Affairs, so that he could not now send a
 Message to them, as to two Houses of Parliament,
 lest he might seem to retract his former judgment of
 them, which was concluded to be both regular and
 just. Upon the whole matter, lest his Majesty might
 be understood to be so much elated with his good
 successes, and the increase of his Strength, that he
 aimed at no less than a perfect Victory, and the ruin
 of those who had incensed him (by which insinua-
 tions they who could not forgive themselves, endea-
 voured to make all others desperate) he was resolved
 to publish such a Declaration to the whole Kingdom,

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that both Houses, and their Army, could not but take notice of, and might, if they were inclined to it, thence take a rise to make any Overtures to him towards an atonement. To that purpose, the next day after he received the assurance of the taking of *Bristol*, his Majesty published this ensuing Declaration; which I shall enter in his own words.

His Majesty's Declaration to all his loving Subjects, after his Victories over the Lord Fairfax in the North, Sir William Waller in the West, and the taking of Bristol by his Majesty's Forces.

The King's
Declaration
after his late
successes.

“ As the grievances and losses of no particular
“ Persons, since these miserable bloody distempers
“ have disquieted this poor Kingdom, can be com-
“ pared to the loss and damage We ourself have suf-
“ tained, there having been no Victory obtained
“ but in the blood of our own Subjects, nor no
“ rapine or violence committed, but to the impo-
“ verishment and ruin of our own People; so, a
“ blessed and happy Peace cannot be so acceptable
“ and Welcome to any Man, as to Us. Almighty
“ God, to whom all the secrets of Our heart are
“ open, who hath so often and so miraculously
“ preserved Us, and to whose power alone We
“ must attribute the goodness of our present condi-
“ tion (how unhappy soever it is with reference to
“ the public Calamities) knows, with what unwill-
“ ingness with what anguish of Soul, We submit-
“ ted ourself to the Necessity of taking up Defensive
“ Arms And the World knows with what justice
“ and bounty We have repaired our Subjects, for

“ all the pressures and inconveniencies they had
“ borne, by such excellent Laws, as would for
“ ever have prevented the like; and with what ear-
“ nestness and importunity We desired to add any
“ thing, for the establishment of the Religion, Laws,
“ and Liberty of the Kingdom. How all these have
“ been disturbed, invaded, and almost destroyed;
“ by Faction, Sedition, and Treason, by those,
“ who have neither Reverence to God, nor Affec-
“ tion to Men, but have sacrificed Both to their
“ own ends and ambition, is now so evident, that
“ We hope, as God hath wonderfully manifested
“ his care of Us, and his defence of His and Our
“ most just Cause; so, he hath so far touched the
“ hearts of our People, that their Eyes are at last
“ opened to see how miserably they have been se-
“ duced, and to abhor those Persons, whose malice
“ and subtlety had seduced them to dishonor Him,
“ to rebel against Us, and to bring much misery and
“ calamity upon their native Country.

“ We well remember the Protestation voluntarily
“ made by Us, in the head of that small Army we
“ were Master of in *September* last, to defend and
“ maintain the true Reformed Protestant Religion:
“ And if it should please God, by his blessing upon
“ that Army, to preserve Us from this Rebellion,
“ that We would maintain the just Privileges and
“ Freedom of Parliament, and govern by the known
“ Laws of the Land; for whose Defence, in truth
“ that Army was only raised, and hath been since
“ kept. And there cannot be a more seasonable time
“ to renew that Protestation than Now, when God

BOOK " hath vouchsafed Us so many Victories and Suc-
VIL " cesses , and hath rendered the power of those ,
" who seek to destroy Us , less formidable than it
" hath been (so that We shall probably not fall under
" the scandalous imputation , which hath usually
" attended Our Messages of Peace , that they pro-
" ceed from the weakness of our power , not love
" of our People) and when there is more freedom
" in many Counties , for our good Subjects to re-
" ceive true information of their own , and Our
" condition ; the knowledge whereof hath been ,
" with equal industry and injustice , kept from them ,
" as other Acts of cruelty have been imposed on
" them.

" We do therefore declare to all the world , in the
" presence of Almighty God , to whom We must
" give a strict account of all our Professions and Pro-
" testations , that We are so far from intending any
" alteration of the Religion established (as hath been
" often falsely , scandalously , and against the Con-
" science of the Contrivers themselves of that rumor
" suggested to our People) or from the least thought
" of invading the Liberty and Property of the Sub-
" ject , or violating the just Privileges of Parliament ,
" that We call that God to witness , *who hath covered*
" *our head in the day of Battle* , that We desire from
" our Soul , and shall always use our utmost endea-
" vour to preserve , and advance the true Reformed
" Protestant Religion established in the Church of
" *England* ; in which We were born , have faithfully
" lived , and , by the grace of God , shall resolutely
" die : That the preservation of the Liberty and

" Property of the Subject, in the due observation
 " of the known Laws of the Land, shall be equally
 " our care, as the maintenance of our own Rights;
 " We desiring to govern only by those good Laws,
 " which, till they were oppressed by this odious
 " Rebellion, preserved this Nation happy. And
 " We do acknowledge the just Privileges of Parlia-
 " ment to be an essential part of those Laws, and
 " shall therefore most solemnly defend, and observe
 " them. So that, in truth, if either Religion, Law,
 " or Liberty, be precious to our People, they will,
 " by their submission to Us, join with Us in the
 " defence of them; and thereby establish that
 " Peace, by which only they can flourish, and be
 " enjoyed.

" Whether these Men, that be professed Enemies
 " to the established Ecclesiastical-Government, who
 " reproach and persecute the Learned Orthodox
 " Ministers of the Church, and into their places
 " put ignorant, seditious, and schismatical Preachers,
 " who vilify the Book of Common-Prayer, and
 " impiously prophane God's Worship with their
 " scurrilous and seditious demeanour, are like to
 " advance that Religion; whether those Men, who
 " boldly, and without the least shadow or color of
 " Law, impose insupportable Taxes and odious
 " Excises upon their fellow Subjects, imprison, tor-
 " ment, and murder them, are like to preserve the
 " Liberty and Property of the Subject: And whether
 " those Men, who seize and possess themselves of
 " our own unquestionable Revenue, and our just
 " Rights, have denied Us our Negative Voice,

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“ have, by force and violence, awed and terrified
 “ the Members of both Houses, and lastly have,
 “ as far as in Them lies, dissolved the present Par-
 “ liament, by driving away and imprisoning the
 “ Members, and resolving the whole power there-
 “ of, and more, into a Committee of a few Men,
 “ contrary to all Law, Custom, or Precedent, are
 “ like to vindicate, and uphold the Privileges of
 “ Parliament, all the world may judge.

“ We do therefore once more conjure our Good
 “ Subjects, by their memory of that excellent Peace
 “ and firm Happiness, with which it pleased God
 “ to reward their Duty, and Loyalty in time past;
 “ by their Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy,
 “ which no Vow or Covenant, contrived, and
 “ administered to, and by themselves, can cancel
 “ or evade; by whatsoever is dear and precious to
 “ them in this life, or hoped or prayed for in the
 “ life to come, that they will remember their Duty,
 “ and consider their Interest, and no longer suffer
 “ Themselves to be misled, their Prince dishonored,
 “ and their Country wasted and undone by the
 “ malice and cunning of those State-Impostors;
 “ who, under pretence of Reformation, would
 “ introduce whatsoever is monstrous and unnatural
 “ both to Religion, and Policy: But that they rather
 “ chuse quietly to enjoy their Religion, Property,
 “ and Liberty, founded and provided for by the
 “ wisdom and industry of former times, and secured,
 “ and enlarged by the blessings upon the present
 “ Age, than to spend their Lives and Fortunes to
 “ purchase confusion, and to make themselves liable

“ to the most intolerable kind of Slavery, that is,
 “ to be Slaves to their fellow Subjects; who, by
 “ their prodigious, ūnheard of Acts of Oppression
 “ and Tyranny, have given them sufficient evidence
 “ What they are to expect at their hands.

“ And let not our good People, who have been
 “ misled, or, through want of Understanding, or
 “ want of Courage, submitted themselves to unwar-
 “ rantable and disloyal Actions, be taught, by these
 “ Seducers, that their Safety now consists in Despair;
 “ and that they can only secure themselves for the ills
 “ they have done, by a resolute and peremptory dis-
 “ obedience. Revenge and Blood-thirstiness have
 “ never been imputed to Us, by those, who have not
 “ left either our Government, or Nature, unexamined,
 “ with the greatest Boldness, and Malice. And all
 “ those who, since these bloody distractions, out of
 “ Conscience have returned from their evil ways to
 “ Us, have found that it was not so easy for Them to
 “ repent as for Us to forgive. And whosoever have
 “ been misled by those whose hearts from the begin-
 “ ning have designed all this mischief, and shall
 “ redeem their past crimes by their present Service
 “ and Loyalty, in the apprehending, or opposing
 “ such who shall continue to bear Arms against Us,
 “ and shall use their utmost endeavours to reduce
 “ those Men to their due Obedience, and to restore
 “ this Kingdom to its wonted Peace, shall have cause
 “ to magnify our Mercy, and to repent the Trespases
 “ committed against so just and gracious a Sovereign.
 “ Lastly, We desire all our good Subjects who have
 “ really assisted, or really wished Us well, now God

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“ hath done such wonderful things for Us, vigorously
 “ to endeavour to put an end to all these miseries, by
 “ bringing in Men, Money, Plate, Horses, or Arms, to
 “ Our aid; that so We being not wanting to ourselves,
 “ may with confidence expect the continuance of
 “ God’s Favor, to restore Us all to that blessed har-
 “ mony of Affections, which may establish a firm
 “ Peace; without the speedy obtaining of which, this
 “ poor Kingdom will be utterly undone, though not
 “ absolutely lost.

What effect this Declaration produced, at least what accident fell out shortly after the publishing it, We shall have occasion anon to remember, when We have first remembered some unfortunate Passages, which accompanied this prosperity on the King’s part; for the Sunshine of his Conquest was somewhat clouded, not only by the Number and Quality of the slain, but by the jealousies and misunderstandings of those who were alive. There was not, from the beginning, that conformity of humor and inclinations between the Princes and the Marquis of *Hertford*, as had been to be wished between all Persons of Honor, who were engaged in a Quarrel that could never prosper but by the Union of the Undertakers. Prince *Maurice*, and, on his behalf (or rather the other by his impulsion) Prince *Rupert* taking to heart, that a Nephew of the King’s should be Lieutenant General to the Marquis, who had neither been exercised in the profession of a Soldier, nor even now punctually studied the Office of a General: On the other hand, the Marquis, who was of the most gentle Nature to the gentle, and as rough and resolute to the imperious, it may be, liked

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not the Prince's assuming to himself more than became a Lieutenant-General, and sometimes crossing Acts of his with relation to the governing, and disposing the Affairs of the Country, in which he knew himself better versed than the Prince; and when *Bristol* was taken, where the Marquis took himself to Command in Chief, being a Town particularly within his Commission, and of which he was besides Lord-Lieutenant, he thought himself not regardfully enough used, that Prince *Rupert* had not only entered into the Treaty without His advice, but concluded the Articles without so much as naming him, or taking notice that he was there. And therefore with as little ceremony to his Highness, or so much as communicating it to either of the Princes, the Marquis declared that he would give the Government of that City to Sir *Ralph Hopton*. Prince *Rupert* on the other hand conceived the Town won by him, being entered on that side in which he Commanded absolutely, and the *Cornish* on the other part absolutely repulsed; and therefore that the disposition of the Command and Government of it, wholly belonged to him. But when he heard the resolution of the Marquis concerning Sir *Ralph Hopton*, who was not to be put into the Scale with any private Man, he gave over the design of conferring it upon any of the pretenders; and by the same Messenger, by whom he advertised his Majesty of the good success, he desired, "that he would bestow the Government of that City reduced by him, upon himself;" the which the King readily consented to; not suspecting any dispute to be about it. And shortly after an

Jealousies
arise among
the King's
principal Officers
about the
Government
of Bristol.

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express arrived likewise from the Marquis, with an account of all particulars, and that his Lordship had designed Sir *Ralph Hopton* to be Governor of the new-got City.

Then, and not before, the King understood what strait he was in; and was exceedingly perplexed to find an Expedient to compose the difference that he saw would arise. He had passed his word to his Nephew, of whom he was very tender, and did in truth believe that his Title to dispose the Government was very just: he had likewise a very just esteem of the Marquis, who had served him with all fidelity, and had clearly declared himself for him, when the doing otherwise would have been most prejudicial to his Majesty: and, it could not be denied, no Subject's Affection and Loyalty gave a greater Lustre to the King's Cause, than that of the Marquis; and that which was a circumstance of infinite Moment, was the nominating Sir *Ralph Hopton*; who as he was a Person of high merit from the King, so he was the most gracious and popular to that City, and the Country adjacent; and after so great service, and suffering in the service, to expose him to a refusal, was both against the kindness and goodness of the King's Nature, and his Politic foresight into his Affairs. And as a presage how various the interpretation would be abroad, of whatsoever he should determine, he found the Minds and Affections of his own Court and Council, with more passion than ordinary, ready to deliver their opinions. The Marquis was generally loved, and where he was not enough known to be so, his Interest and Reputation in the Kingdom

Kingdom was thought of wonderful consideration in the King's business: and many were very much troubled to see Prince *Rupert*, whose Activity and Courage in the Field they thought very instrumental, incline to get the possession of the second City of the Kingdom into his hands, or to engage himself so much in the Civil Government, as such a Command soberly executed must necessarily comprehend; and this as it were in contempt of one of the prime Nobles of the Kingdom, to which Order the Prince had not expressed himself very debonair. And these thought "the King was, by Counsel and Precept, to reform and soften the Prince's understanding and humer, and to persuade him, in compliance with his Service, to decline the Contest, and suffer the Marquis to proceed in his disposition, which, on all parts, was acknowledged to be most fitly designed."

Others again were of opinion, "that the right of disposing the Command to whomsoever he thought fit, entirely belonged to Prince *Rupert*; and therefore (besides that the King had, by the same Messenger who brought the Suit, returned his Consent) that he could not be reasonably refused, when he desired it for himself; which would take away all possible imagination of disrespect to Sir *Ralph Hopton*, who could not take it ill, that the Prince himself had taken a Command, that was designed to Him: That the Eyes of the Army were upon his Highness, whose name was grown a terror to the Enemy, as his Courage and Conduct had been very prosperous to the King; and if, after

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“ so happy and glorious an achievement, he should
 “ now receive a repulse in so reasonable a pretence,
 “ though it would not lessen his own duty or alacrity
 “ in the Service, it might have an unhappy influence
 “ upon his Reputation and Interest in the Army;
 “ which could receive no diminution without apparent damage to his Majesty: and therefore, that
 “ some means should be used to the Marquis, to wave
 “ his Title, and to consent that the Prince should
 “ enjoy his desires:” so that they who were only fit to be employed to persuade and alter either, Seemed, and indeed Were, passionately engaged against the thing they were to persuade. Whereupon the King discerned that all depended upon his own Royal Wisdom; and therefore resolved to take a Journey in his own Person to *Bristol*, and there to give such a Rule as he should find most necessary; to which, he presumed, both Persons would conform themselves, as well cordially, as obediently.

The King went to Bristol to compose the difference.

That which the King proposed to himself, was to gratify his Nephew with the Name, and the Marquis, by making *Sir Ralph Hopton* enjoy the Thing; upon obliging whom the King's care was very particular. For though he knew his nature, as in truth it was, most exactly free from interrupting the least public Service by private ends or thoughts, other Men would be apt to conceive and publish a disrespect to be done to him, which himself apprehended not; and therefore his Majesty was not only, in his own Princely mind, to retain a very gracious sense of his Service, but to give Evidence to all Men, that he did so. And so after he had made a joyful entrance into

Bristol, which was performed with all decent Solemnity, and used all kind and obliging expressions to the Marquis, he desired him in private to consent, that he might perform his promise to his Nephew, which he had passed before he had any imagination that his Lordship otherwise had determined of it; without speaking at all of any other Title his Highness had to it, but by his Majesty's promise. He established Prince *Rupert* in the Government of *Bristol*, who immediately sent a Commission to Sir *Ralph Hopton* (who was now so well recovered, that he walked into the Air) to be his Lieutenant-Governor; signifying likewise to him, by a Confident that passed between them, "that
 " though he was now engaged for some time, which
 " should not be long, to keep the Superior Title
 " himself, he would not at all meddle in the Govern-
 " ment, but that he should be as absolute in it, as if the
 " Original-Commission had been granted to Him."

Sir *Ralph Hopton*, who was exceedingly sorry that His name was at all used, and exposed, as an Argument of difference and misunderstanding between Persons of such eminent influence upon the public, quickly discerned that this expedient, though it seemed plausibly to lessen the noise of the Debate, did in truth object him to the full Envy of one Party. For the Marquis (who by the King's persuasions was rather quieted, than satisfied) might, and he foresaw would, be persuaded to expect that He would refuse the Commission from Prince *Rupert*, both, as he might be thought to comply in an Injury done to the Marquis, to whom his devotion had been ancient, fast, and unshaken, and as the Command now given him, was

B O O K inferior to what the Marquis, who had the power of
VII, disposal, had conferred on him; and so that he should vindicate the Title, which the King himself was loath to give a judgment upon. He was the more troubled, because he found that by submitting to this Charge, he should by some be thought to have deserted the Marquis out of a kind of Revenge for his having deserted the Enterprize, when he chose, the last year, rather to go into *Wales* than *Cornwal*, and for his deserting him again now, when he brought all new Officers to Command the Army over Their Heads who had raised it, and made the way for the new to come to them. Whereas the first, as is before remembered, was done by his own Advice, as well as his full Consent; and the latter, he well knew, was rather to be imputed to Prince *Maurice* than to his Lordship, whose kindness and esteem had been ever very real to him. On the other hand, he saw plainly, that if he refused to receive this Commission, with what specious Circumstances of Duty and Submission soever, it might produce (as without doubt unavoidably it would) notable Disturbances and Interruptions in the King's Affairs; and that the Marquis, to common Understandings, had, to Obey the King, declined the Contest, and therefore that the reviving it, and the mischief that attended it, would be imputed to his particular Account. Besides that, he had always borne an avowed and declared Reverence to the Queen of *Bohemia* and her Children, whom he had Personally and actively served in their Wars, whilst they maintained any, and for whose Honor and Restitution he had been a Zealous and known Champion. And

therefore he had no inclination to disoblige a hopeful Prince of that House, upon whom our own hopes seemed so much to depend. He therefore resolved, according to his rare temper throughout this War, to let him whom he professed to serve, chuse in what kind he would be served by him; and cheerfully received the Commission from Prince *Rupert*; upon which, all discourse, or debate of difference, was for the present determined, what whisperings or murmurings soever remained.

The King found it now high time to resolve, to what Action next to dispose his Armies, and that their lying still so long there (for these Agitations had kept the main work from going forward ten or twelve days, a time in that Season unfortunately lost) had more weakened, than refreshed them; having not lost more Men by storming the City, than afterwards by plundering it: those Soldiers, who had warmed themselves with the burden of Pillage, never quietly again submitting to the Carriage of their Arms.

The Question was first, “whether both Armies should be united, and march in one upon the next Design? and then, What that Design should be? Against the First, there were many Allegations.

1. “The condition of the West: *Dorsetshire* and *Devonshire* were entirely possessed by the Enemy; for though Sir *John Berkeley* with a daring Party kept *Exeter*, and Colonel *John Digby* the North-part (which was notoriously disaffected) from joining with *Plymouth*, which would else quickly have grown into an Army strong enough to infest *Cornwal*, yet they had no place to retire to upon distress;

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“ and all the Ports upon the Western Coasts were
“ Garrisoned by the Parliament, which, upon the
“ same of the approach of the King's Forces, and the
“ loss of *Bristol*, might probably be, without much
“ resistance, reduced.

2. “ The *Cornish* Army was greater in Reputation,
“ than Numbers; having lost many at *Lansdown*, and
“ the Assault of *Bristol*; and, by the death of their
“ Chief Officers, very many were run away since:
“ besides they pretended some promise made to their
“ Country (which they conceived not to be enough
“ secured against *Plymouth*) of returning speedily for
“ the reduction of that Town; so that if they were
“ compelled to march Eastwards, to which they were
“ not inclined, it was to be doubted they would
“ moulder away so fast, that there would be little
“ addition of strength by it. Whereas if they marched
“ Westward, it would be no hard matter to gather
“ up those who were returned, and to be strong
“ enough in a very short time, by new Levies, for
“ any Enterprize should be thought reasonable to be
“ undertaken.” To which was added, “ that having
“ lost those Officers, whom they loved and feared;
“ and whose Reverence restrained their Natural dis-
“ tempers, they were too much inclined to mutiny;
“ and had expressed a peremptory aversion to the
“ joining, and marching with the King's Army.” And
the truth is, their humors then were not very gentle
and agreeable, as being apt to think that their prowess
was not enough recompensed, or valued. For though
the King affected to make all possible demonstrations
to them, of an extraordinary high esteem he had of

their wonderful Fidelity and Courage, yet he was able to procure very little Money for them; and they had then, by the discipline under which they had been trained (which was most regular, and full of that sobriety which promised good fortune) an honest pride in their own Natures, a great disdain of plundering, or supplying themselves by those vile Arts, which they grew afterwards less tender to avoid.

3. "The great number of the King's Horse; which was so brave a Body, that when that part of it, which was joined to the *Cornish* was away, he should march with at least six thousand Horse, which were as many as would be able to live on any Country within a due distance of Quartering.

4. "Lastly some Correspondence with the Chief Gentlemen of *Dorsetshire*, who were ready to join with any considerable Party for the King, and had some probable hopes, that the small Garrisons upon the Coast would not make a tedious resistance."

There was another reason, which was not given, that if both Armies had been kneaded into one. Prince *Maurice* could have been but a private Colonel: but there were enough besides to satisfy the King to keep them divided; and so he gave Order to the Earl of *Carnarvon* to advance towards *Dorchester* (the Chief Town in that County, and one of the most Malignant in *England*, where the Rebels had a Garrison) with the Horse and Dragoons, and the next day to Prince *Maurice* to march after with the Foot and Cannon; his Majesty keeping with him the Marquis of *Hertford* to attend his own Person; for though he well saw, he should undergo some Inconveniences

Prince Maurice sent to the War with an Army.

BOOK VII. by withdrawing the Marquis from that employment, the opinion of the Soundness of his Religion, and Integrity of his Justice, rendering him by much the most popular Man in those parts, and was exceedingly tender of giving the least umbrage and distaste to his Lordship, upon whose Honor and Affection he relied entirely, and would as soon have trusted his Crown upon His Fidelity, as upon any Man's in his three Kingdoms, yet he discerned plainly that the Prince and the Marquis would never agree together; and that there were Persons about them, who would foment their Indispositions to each other, with any hazard to His service; and concluded, that he should sooner reduce his People by the Power of his Army, than by the persuasions of his Counsel; and that the roughness of the one's Nature, might prevail more than the lenity and condescension of the other: and therefore he sent the Prince on that employment; using all imaginable means to remove any trouble, or jealousy of his favor from the Marquis's mind; his Majesty freely and clearly communicating to him all his Counsels, and the true ground of his Resolution; and declaring to him, "that he would make him a
" Gentleman of his Bed-Chamber, and Groom of
" his Stole, and that he would always have his Com-
" pany and Advice, about him;" with which the Marquis was satisfied, rather because he resolved not to disobey him, than that he was well pleased with the price of the obligations.

And truly many wise and honest Men, were sorry for the King's Election; and though the Marquis's years, and a long indulgence to his ease, had super-

induced a kind of laziness and inactivity upon his Nature, that was neither agreeable to his primitive Constitution, nor the great Endowments of his mind (for he was a good Scholar, and had a good judgement) and less to the temper of this time, and the Office of a General, inasmuch as he often resigned an excellent understanding to those who had a very indifferent one, and followed the advice, and concluded upon the information of those, who had narrower, and more vulgar thoughts than suited with his Honor, and were not worthy of such a Trust; yet they thought the Prince's Inexperience of the Customs and Manners of *England*, and an aversion from considering them, must subject him to the information and advice of worse Counsellors than the other, and which would not be so easily controuled: And I am of opinion, that if the Prince had waited on his Majesty in that Army, and never interposed in any Command, not purely Martial, and the Marquis been sent with those Forces into the West with the Lord *Hopton* (who was now to be left at *Bristol* to intend his health, and to form that new Garrison; which was to be a Magazine for Men, Arms, Ammunition, and all that was wanted) and some other steady Persons, who might have been Assigned to special Provinces, a greater tide of good fortune had attended that expedition.

The next resolution to be taken, was concerning the King's own motion with the other Army. There was not a Man, who did not think the reducing of *Glocester*, a City within little more than twenty miles of *Bristol*, of mighty importance to the King, if it

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might be done without a great expense of time, and loss of Men: * It was the only Reason for the Rebels
 “ had between *Bristol* and *London*, on the North-
 “ part of *England*, and if it could be recovered, his
 “ Majesty would have the River of *Severn* entirely
 “ within his Command; whereby his Garrisons of
 “ *Worcester*, and *Shrewsbury*, and all those parts,
 “ might be supplied from *Bristol*; and the Trade of
 “ that City thereby so advanced, that the Customs
 “ and Duty might bring a notable Revenue to the
 “ King, and the Wealth of the City increasing, it
 “ might bear the greater Burden for the War: A
 “ rich and populous County, which hitherto rather
 “ yielded Conveniences of Quarters, than a settled
 “ Contribution (that strong Garrison holding not
 “ only the whole Forest-division, which is a fourth
 “ part of the County of *Glocester*, absolutely in
 “ obedience, but so alarmed all other parts, that none
 “ of the Gentry, who for the most part were well
 “ affected, durst stay at their own Houses) might be
 “ wholly the King’s Quarters, and by how much
 “ it had offended, and disquieted the King, more
 “ than other Counties, by so much the more Money
 “ might be raised upon them.” Besides the General
 weekly Contributions, the Yeomanry, who had
 been most forward and seditious, being very weal-
 thy, and able to redeem their Delinquency at a high
 Price (and these Arguments were fully pressed by the
 well affected Gentry of the County, who had carried
 themselves honestly and suffered very much by doing
 so, and undertook great Levies of Men, if this Work
 were first done) there was another Argument of no

less, if not greater Moment than all the rest: "If
 " *Glocester* were reduced, there would need no Forces
 " to be left in *Wales*, and all those Soldiers might be
 " then drawn to the marching Army, and the Con-
 " tributions and other Taxes assigned to the pay-
 " ment of it." Indeed the King would have had a
 glorious, and entire part of his Kingdom, to have
 contended with the rest.

Yet all these motives were not thought worth the
 engaging his Army in a doubtful Siege; whilst the
 Parliament might both recover the fear that was
 upon them, and consequently allay and compose the
 distempers (which, if they did not wholly proceed
 from, were very much strengthened by those fears)
 and recruit their Army; and therefore that it was
 better to march into some of those Counties which
 were most oppressed by the Enemy, and there wait
 such advantage, as the distraction in and about
London would administer, except there could be
 some probable hope that *Glocester* might be got with-
 out much delay. And to that purpose there had been
 secret agitation, the effect whereof was hourly ex-
 pected. The Governor of that Garrison was one
 Colonel *Massy*, a Soldier of Fortune, who had, in
 the late Northern-Expeditions prepared by the King
 against *Scotland*, been an Officer in the King's Army;
 under the Command of Colonel *William Leg*; and in
 the beginning of these Troubles, had been at *York*
 with inclination to serve the King; but finding him-
 self not enough known there, and that there would be
 little gotten but the Comfort of a good Conscience,
 went to *London*, where there was more Money, and

BOOK VII. fewer Officers; and was easily made Lieutenant Colonel to the Earl of *Stamford*; and being quickly found to be a diligent and stout Officer, and of no ill parts of Conversation to render himself acceptable among the Common-People, was by his Lordship, when he went into the West, left Governor of that City of *Glocester*, where he had behaved himself actively, and successfully. There was no reason to despair, that this Man (not intoxicated with any of those fumes which made Men rave, and frantic in the Cause) might not be wrought upon. And *Will. Leg*, who had the good opinion of most Men, and the particular kindness of Prince *Rupert*, had sent a Messenger, who was like to pass without suspicion to *Glocester*, with such a Letter of kindness and overture to *Massy*, as was proper in such a case from one Friend to another. This Messenger returned when the King's and the Army's motion was under Debate, and brought an Answer from the Governor to Colonel *Leg*, in a very high Style, and seeming to take it much unkindly, "that he should endeavour to Corrupt him
 " in his Honesty, and Fidelity, and to persuade him
 " to break a Trust, which, to save his Life, he would
 " never do;" with much discourse " of his Honor,
 " and Reputation, which would be always dear
 " to him." But the Messenger said withal, " that,
 " after the Governor had given him this Letter, and
 " some sharp Reproaches before Company, he was
 " brought again, a back-way, to a place where the
 " Governor was by himself;" and then he told him,
 " that it was most necessary he should write such an
 " Answer as he had done; which was communicated

“ to those , who else would have been jealous what
 “ such a Messenger should come to him about ; but
 “ that he should tell *William Leg*, that he was the same
 “ Man he had ever been , his Servant ; and that he
 “ wished the King well ; that he heard Prince *Rupert*
 “ meant to bring the Army before that Town ; if he
 “ did , he would defend it as well as he could ; and his
 “ Highness would had another work than he had at
 “ *Bristol* , but if the King himself came with his Army ,
 “ and summoned it , he would not hold it against
 “ Him : For it would not stand with his conscience
 “ to fight against the Person of the King ; besides that
 “ in such a case , he should be able to persuade those
 “ of the Town ; which otherwise he could not do .”

This Message turned the Scale ; for though it might
 be without purpose of being honest , yet there was no
 great objection against the King’s marching that way
 with his Army ; since it would be still in his power to
 pursue any other Counsel , without engaging before
 it . And it was to some a sign that he meant well , be-
 cause he had not hanged , or at least imprisoned the
 Messenger who came to him on such an Errand .
 Hereupon the King resolved for *Glocester* , but not to
 be engaged in a Siege ; and so sent his Army that way ;
 and the next day (having first sent Sir *Ralph Hopton*
 a Warrant to Create him Baron *Hopton* of *Stratton* , in
 Memory of the happy Battle fought there) with the
 remainder of his Forces marched towards it . On
Wednesday the tenth of *August* , the King ranged his
 whole Army upon a fair Hill , in the clear View of
 the City , and within less than two miles of it ; and
 then being about two of the Clock in the Afternoon ,
 he sent a Trumpet with this Summons to the Town .

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The King
 marches to-
 wards Glo-
 ceſter , and
 Summons it ,
 Aug. 10. 1643.

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“ Out of our tender Compassion to our City of
“ *Glocester*, and that it may not receive prejudice
“ by our Army, which We cannot prevent if We
“ be compelled to Assault it, We are Personally
“ come before it to require the same; and are gra-
“ ciously pleased to let all the Inhabitants of, and
“ all other Persons within that City, as well Sol-
“ diers as others, know, that if they shall immediate-
“ ly submit themselves, and deliver this Our City
“ to Us, We are contented, freely, and absolute-
“ ly to pardon every one of them, without ex-
“ ception; and do assure them, in the word of a
“ King, that they, nor any of them shall receive
“ the least damage or prejudice by Our Army in
“ their Persons or Estates; but that We will appoint
“ such a Governor, and a moderate Garrison to
“ reside there, as shall be both for the ease and
“ security of that City, and that whole County.
“ But if they shall neglect this proffer of Grace and
“ Favor, and compel Us, by the power of Our
“ Army, to reduce that place (which, by the help
“ of God, We doubt not, We shall be easily and
“ shortly able to do) they must thank Themselves
“ for all the Calamities and Miseries must befall
“ Them. To this Message We expect a clear and
“ positive Answer, within two hours after the pub-
“ lishing hereof; and by these presents do give leave
“ to any Persons, safely to repair to and return from
“ Us, whom that City shall desire to employ unto
“ Us in that business: And do require all the Officers,
“ and Soldiers of Our Army, quietly to suffer them
“ to pass accordingly.”

Within less than the time percribed, together with the Trumpeter returned two Citizens from the Town, with lean, pale, sharp, and had Visages, indeed Faces so strange, and unusual, and in such a garb and posture, that at once made the most severe Countenances merry, and the most cheerful hearts sad; for it was impossible such Ambassadors could bring less than a Defiance. The Men, without any Circumstances of Duty, or good Manners, in a pert, shrill, undismayed accent, said, "they had brought an Answer from the Godly City of *Glocester* to the King;" and were so ready to give insolent and seditious Answers to any Question, as if their business were chiefly to provoke the King to violate his own Safe Conduct. The Answer they brought was in writing, in these very words.

August 10th 1643.

"We the Inhabitants, Magistrates, Officers, and Soldiers, within this Garrison of *Glocester*, unto his Majesty's gracious Message return this humble Answer: That We do keep this City, according to our Oaths and Allegiance, to and for the use of his Majesty, and his Royal Posterity: And do accordingly conceive ourselves wholly bound to obey the Commands of his Majesty, signified by both Houses of Parliament: And are resolved, by God's help, to keep this City accordingly."

The Citizens
and Garrison's
Answer.

This Paper was subscribed by *Wise* the Mayor, and *Majjy* the Governor, with thirteen of the Aldermen, and most substantial Citizens, and eleven Officers of the Garrison; and as soon as their Messengers

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returned, who were quickly dismissed, without attending to see what the King resolved, all the Suburbs of the City, in which were very large and fair Buildings, well inhabited, were set on Fire; so that there was no doubt, the King was to expect nothing there but what could not be kept from him. Now was the time for new Debates, and new Resolutions; to which Men came not so unbiassed, or unswayed, as they had been at *Bristol*. This indignity and affront to the King prompted thoughts of Revenge; and some thought the King so far engaged, that in Honor he could not do less, than sit down before the Town, and force it: and these Inclinations gave Countenance, and Credit to all these plausible informations “ of small Provisions in the
 “ Town, either of Victual, or Ammunition; that,
 “ where the Town was strongest, there was no-
 “ thing but an old Stone-Wall, which would fall
 “ upon an easy Battery; that there were many well
 “ Affected People in the Town, who, with those
 “ who were incensed by the burning of the Suburbs,
 “ and the great losses they must sustain thereby,
 “ would make such a Party, that as soon as they
 “ were distressed, the seditious Party would be forced to yield. It was alledged, that the Enemy
 “ had no Army; nor, by all Intelligence, was like
 “ to form any soon enough to be able to Relieve
 “ it; and if they had an Army, that it was much
 “ better for his Majesty to force them to that distance
 “ from *London*, and to fight there, where he could
 “ be supplied with whatsoever he wanted, could
 “ choose his own ground, where his brave Body
 “ of

“ of Horſe would be able to Deſeat any Army they
 “ could raiſe, than to ſeek them in their own
 “ Quarters.”

Above all, the Confidence of the Soldiers of the beſt Experience moved his Majeſty; who upon riding about the Town, and taking a near view of it, were clear of opinion, that they ſhould be able in leſs than ten days by Approach, for all thoughts of Storming were laid aſide upon the loſs at *Briſtol*, to win it. This produced a Reſolution in his Majeſty, not one Man in the Council of War diſſuading it. So the King preſently ſent to *Oxford* for his General the Earl of *Brenſford* “ to come to him, with
 “ all the Foot that could be ſpared out of that Gar-
 “ riſon, and his pieces of Battery, to govern that
 “ Action:” Prince *Rupert* wiſely declining that Province, and retiring himſelf into the Generalſhip of the Horſe, that he might not be thought accountable for any Accidents which ſhould attend that Service. At the ſame inſtant, Orders were deſpatched to Sir *William Vavaſour*, who Commanded all the Forces in South-*Wales* (the Lord *Herbert* having been perſuaded, ſo far to comply with the indiſpoſition of that People, as to decline that Command, or at leaſt for a time to diſſemble it) “ to draw all
 “ his Men to the Foreſt-ſide of the Town;” where the Bridges being broken down, a ſmall ſtrength would keep them in, and any from going to them, which within two days was done. Thus the King was engaged before *Gloceſter*; and thereby gave reſpite to the diſtracted Spirits at *London*, to breathe, and compoſe themſelves; and, more methodically

The King
 Beſieges the
 Town.

than they hoped to have done, to prepare for their preservation, and accomplishing their own ends ; which at that time seemed almost desperate, and incurable.

The direful News of the Surrender of *Bristol*, which was brought to the two Houses on the 31st of *July*, struck them to the heart, and came upon them as a Sentence of Death, after a vast Consumption of Money, and Confident Promises of destroying all the King's Forces by a day, every Tax and Imposition being declared to be the last; and for finishing the work, the Earl of *Essex* was at the same time returned to *Kingston*, within ten Miles of them, with his broken and dismayed Troops, which himself would not endure should have the Title of an Army. So that the War seemed to be even at an end in a sense very contrary to what they had undertaken; their General talking more, and pressing for Reparation, and Vindication of his Honor from imputations, and aspersions, than for a Recruit of Forces, or providing an Army to defend them. Every Man reproached his Neighbour with his want of inclination to Peace, when good Conditions might be had, and magnified his own Wisdom, for having feared * it would come to This." The King's last Declaration had been read by all Men, and was magnified " as a most gracious and undeniable instance of his Clemency and Justice, that he was " so far from being elated with his good Successes, " and Power almost to have what he would, that " he renewed all those Promises, and Protestations " for the Religion, Laws, and Liberties of the King.

dom, and Privileges of Parliament; which had been out of their perverseness discredited before, as proceeding from the low Condition he was in; and whereas they had been frighted with their representation of their own guilt, and the implacableness of the King's Nature, as if he meant an utter Conquest of them, his Majesty had now offered all that could be honestly desired, and had expressed himself a Prince not delighted with Blood and Revenge, but an indulgent Father to the most disobedient Children." In this Reformation of Understanding, the Lords in their House Debated nothing but expedients for Peace: there were not of that Body above five, at the most, who had any inclination to continue the War; and the Earl of *Essex* had sufficiently declared, "that He was weary of it," and held closest and strictest Correspondence with those who most passionately pressed an Accommodation. So that, on the fifth of *August*, they desired a Conference with the Commons; and declared to them, "that they were resolved to send Propositions to the King, and they hoped, They would concur in them:" the particulars proposed by them were,

1. "That both Armies might be presently disbanded, and his Majesty be entreated to return to his Parliament, upon such security as should give him satisfaction.
2. "That Religion might be settled with the advice of a Synod of Divines, in such a manner as his Majesty, with the consent of both Houses of Parliament, should appoint.

Propositions
for Peace
given by the
House of
Lords to the
House of
Commons in
a Conference

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3. " That the Militia, both by Sea and Land,
 " might be settled by a Bill; and the Militia, Forts,
 " and Ships of the Kingdom, put into such hands
 " as the King should appoint, with the approbation
 " of both Houses of Parliament: and his Majesty's
 " Revenue to be absolutely, and wholly restored
 " unto him; only deducting such part, as had been
 " of necessity expended for the maintenance of his
 " Children, and not otherwise.

4. " That all the Members of both Houses who
 " had been expelled only for absenting themselves,
 " or mere compliance with his Majesty, and no
 " other matter of Fact against them, might be re-
 " stored to their Places.

5. " That all Delinquents, from before the tenth
 " day of *January* 1641, should be delivered up to
 " the Justice of Parliament, and a General Pardon
 " for all others on both sides."

6. And lastly, " that there might be an Act of
 " Oblivion for all by-gone Deeds, and Acts of
 " Hostility."

When this Conference was reported in the House of Commons, it begot a wonderful long, and a hot Debate, which lasted till ten of the Clock that night, and continued a day or two more; the violent Party (for there were yet many among them of more moderate Constitutions, who did, and ever had heartily abhorred their proceedings, though out of fear, and indisposition of Health, or not knowing else well what to do, they continued there) inveighed furiously against the design itself of sending to the King at all, and therefore would not have the particular

Propositions so much as considered: " They had received much prejudice by the last Treaty at *Oxford*, and therefore must undergo more now, their condition was much lower: The King had since that, upon the matter, declared them to be no Parliament; for if they were not free, they could not be a Parliament; so that till that point were vindicated, they could not Treat in any safe Capacity, but would be looked upon under the notion of Rebels, as his Majesty had declared them. They had sent Members into *Scotland* to require Assistance, which that Kingdom was preparing with all Brotherly affection, and forwardness, and after such a discovery, to Treat for Peace, without the privity of the *Scots*, was to betray them; and to forfeit all hopes hereafter of relief from thence, what necessities soever they might be reduced to. That the City of *London* had expressed all imaginable readiness to raise Forces for Sir *William Waller*; and the Counties near *London* were ready to rise as one Man, whereby the Earl of *Essex* would be speedily enabled to march, with a better Army than ever he had, to give the King Battle, except this discourse of Peace did extinguish the Zeal that was then flaming in the hearts of the People. "

But notwithstanding these reasons, and the passion in the delivery, the terror of the King's Successes suggested Answers enough. " They had been punished for breaking off the Treaty of *Oxford*, when they might have had better terms than now they could expect; and if they omitted this opportunity, they should fare much worse; that they were not sure

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“ of aid from *Scotland*, neither was it almost possible
 “ it should come time enough to preserve them from
 “ the Ruin at hand. And for the City of *London*,
 “ though the common and meaner sort of People,
 “ who might promise themselves advantage by it,
 “ desired the continuance of the distractions, yet it
 “ was evident the most Substantial and Rich Men
 “ desired Peace, by their refusal to supply Money
 “ for the carrying on the War; and if they should
 “ judge of the Common-People by their forwardness
 “ to engage their own Persons, they had reason to
 “ believe they had no mind to the War neither; for
 “ their General was forced to retire even under their
 “ own Walls, for want of Men to recruit his Army.
 “ However, the sending reasonable Propositions to
 “ the King, would either procure a Peace, and so
 “ they should have no more need of an Army; or,
 “ being refused, would raise more Men and Money
 “ than all their Ordinances without it.” These rea-
 sons and arguments prevailed; and after the Debate
 had lasted all ten of the Cloak at night, it was resolved
 upon the Question, and carried by nine-and-twenty
 Voices, “ that they should insist upon the Proposi-
 “ tions, and send to his Majesty.”

And without doubt, if they had then sent (as if the
 Power had been in the two Houses of Parliament,
 they had done) a firm Peace had immediately ensued:
 For besides that if a Treaty and Cessation had been in
 that Conjunction entered upon, no extravagant de-
 mand would have been pressed, only a security for
 those who had been faulty, which the King would
 gladly have Granted, and most Religiously observed;

the fourth Proposition, and Consent to restore all Members to their places in Parliament, would have prevented the kindling any more fire in those Houses. But this was too well known to be suffered to pass; and therefore the next day, being *Sunday*, the Seditious Preachers filled all the Pulpits with Alarms of "Ruin and Destruction to the City, if a Peace were now offered to the King;" and printed Papers were scattered through the Streets, and fixed upon Gates, Posts, and the most public places in the City and Suburbs, requiring "all Persons well affected, to rise as one Man, and to come to the House of Commons next morning; for that twenty thousand *Irish* Rebels were landed;" which information was likewise given that day in many Pulpits by their Preachers; and in other Papers likewise set up, it was declared, "that the Malignant Party had overvoted the Good, and if not prevented, there would be a Peace."

When the minds of the People were thus prepared, *Pennington*, their own Lord-Mayor, though on *Sunday* (on which they before complained the King used to sit in Council) called a Common-Council; where a Petition was framed to the House of Commons, taking notice "of Propositions passed by the House of Peers for Peace, which if consented to, and allowed, would be destructive to Religion, Laws, and Liberties; and therefore desired that House to pass an Ordinance, according to the Tenor of an Act of their Common-Council (which they appointed to be annexed to their Petition) "which was for the vigorous prosecuting the War, and decli-

A Petition of
the Common-
Council of
London
against Peace.

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Whereupon
the House of
Commons
rejected the
Propositions
of the Lords.

“ning all thoughts of Accommodation.” With this Petition, and such an Attendance as those preparatives were like to bring, the Lord-Mayor himself, who, from the time of his Mayoralty, had forborne sitting in the House as a Member, came to the House of Commons, and delivered it, with such farther Insinuations of the temper of the City, as were fit for the purpose; the People at the door behaving themselves as imperiously, telling the Members of both Houses, as they passed by them, “that if they had not a good Answer, they would be there the next day with double the Number.” The Lords complained of the Tumults, and sent to the Commons to join with them in their Suppression; instead whereof the Commons (many of their Body withdrawing for fear, and others by fear converted, or it may be by hope of prevailing) gave the City thanks “for their Petition, Advice, and Courage;” and rejected the Propositions for Peace.

This raised a new contest in the City, which was not willing to lie under the perpetual brand of resisting and opposing Peace, as they did of first raising the War. And therefore the Wise and Sober part of it, would gladly have discovered how averse they were from the late Act of the Common Council. But the late Execution of *Tomkins*, and *Chaloner*, and the advantage which was presently taken against any Man who was moderately inclined, frightened all Men from appearing in Person to desire those things upon which their hearts were most set. In the end, the Women expressed greater Courage than the Men; and having a Precedent of a Rabble of that Sex,

appearing in the beginning of these Distractions with a Petition to the House of Commons, to foment the Divisions. with acceptance and approbation, a great Multitude of the Wives of Substantial Citizens came to the House of Commons with a Petition for Peace. Thereupon a Troop of Horse, under the Command of one *Harvey*, a decayed Silk-man, who from the beginning had been one most Confided in, were sent for; who behaved themselves with such inhumanity, that they Charged among the silly Women, as an Enemy worthy of their Courage, and killed, and wounded many of them, and easily dispersed the rest. When they were by this means secured from farther vexation of this kind special notice was taken of those Members who seemed most importunate, and desirous of Peace, that some advantage might be taken against them. Whereupon, they well discerning the danger they were in, many both of the Peers, and the Commons, first absented themselves from the Houses, and then removed into those Quarters where they might enjoy the Protection of the King; and some of them came directly to *Oxford*.

Having diverted this Torrent, which would have brought Peace upon them before they were aware, they considered their strength, and applied themselves to the recovery of the Spirits of their General; whose indisposition troubled them more, than any other distress they were in. To this cure they applied remedies of contrary Natures, which would yet work to the same end. First they caressed Sir *William Waller* with wonderful kindness and esteem; and as he was met upon his return to *London*, after the

B O O K most total Defeat that could almost be imagined
VII. (for though few of his Horse were killed upon the place, they were so ruinously dispersed, that of above two thousand, there were not three hundred gotten together again for their Service) with all the Trained-bands and Militia of *London*, and received as if he had brought the King Prisoner with him, so he was immediately chosen Governor and Commander in Chief of the Forces and Militia of *London*, for the Defence of the City; and it was now declared, “that
 “ they would forthwith supply him with a good
 “ Body of Horse, and Foot, to take the Field again,
 “ and relieve their distressed Friends in the West.”

An Ordinance
 for raising an
 Army under
 the Earl of
 Manchester.

Then another Ordinance was passed to raise a great Army, under the Command of the Earl of *Manchester* (who had been always steady to his first Principles, and never a friend to any Overture of accommodation) in order to opposing the Earl of *New-Castle*, and to take charge of all the Associated Counties; which were *Essex*, *Hertford*, *Cambridge*, *Norfolk*, *Suffolk*, *Huntington*, and (by a new addition) *Lincoln*; and for the speedy raising Men to join to those who would voluntarily list themselves under these two beloved Generals, there was an Ordinance passed both Houses for the Pressing of Men; which seemed somewhat to discredit their Cause, that, after so much pretence to the hearts of the People, they should be now compelled to Fight whether they would or no; and was the more wondered at, because they had themselves procured the King's Consent to an Act this Parliament, that declared it to be unlawful to press, or compel any of the freeborn

Subjects, to march out of the County in which they lived, if he were not willing so to do; and direction was given by other Ordinances to press great Numbers of Men, to serve both under the Earl of *Manchester*, and Sir *William Waller*; and having thus provided for the worst, and let the Earl of *Essex* discern, that they had another Earl to trust to, and more Generals than one at their Devotion, they sent a formal Committee of both Houses to him, to use all imaginable Art, and Application to him, to recover him to his former Vigor, and Zeal in their Cause. They told him “the high Value the Houses had of the Service he had done, and the hazards, dangers, and losses, he had for their sakes undergone: That he should receive as ample a Vindication for the Calumnies, and Aspersions raised on him, as he could desire, from the full Testimony, and Confidence of the two Houses; and if the infamous Authors of them could be found, their punishment should be as notorious as their Libels: That no other Forces should be recruited till His were made up; and that all his Soldiers Arrears should be paid, and Clothes presently sent for his Foot.”

Whether these Reasons, with the Jealousy of the Earl of *Manchester*, upon whom he plainly saw the Violent party wholly depended, or the infusions poured into him by the Lord *Say* and Mr. *Pym*, of the desperateness of his own Condition, with an opinion, upon the difference between the two Princes, and the Marquis of *Hertford*, that the Marquis's Services were not enough valued by the King (which many desired should be thought to have then some

B O O K VII. influence upon the Earl) or whether he had not steadiness enough, to engage in so hazardous an Enterprize, he grew insensibly altered from his moderate inclinations, and desire of Peace; for it is most certain, that as the confidence in him gave many Lords the Spirit to appear Champions for Peace, who had been before as solicitous against it, so the design was then the same, which had been since prosecuted, with effect, to a worse purpose, that is, for the Members of both Houses who were of one mind, upon that signal Riot, and compelling the House of Common to renounce their former Resolution of Propositions to the King, to have gone to the Earl of *Effex*, and there, under the security of their own Army, to have protested against the violence which was offered, the breach of their Privileges by the Common-Council's taking notice of their Counsels, and overruling their Conclusions, and to have declared their want of Freedom: by means whereof, they made no doubt to have drawn the Houses to Consent to such an Agreement as the King would well have approved of; or to have entered upon such a Treaty themselves with the King, as all the moderate part of the Kingdom would have been glad to be comprehended under.

But this staggering in their General frustrated that design, and put them to other Resolutions; and so, having rendered themselves very ungracious in the Houses, and possibly suspecting the Earl of *Effex* might discover some of their Overtures, many of the Lords left the Town, and went either directly to *Oxford*, or into the King's Quarters; the Earl of

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Portland, and the Lord *Lovelace* (of whose good Affections to his Service the King had always assurance, and who had only stayed there, as at a place where they might do him more Service, than any where else) directly to *Oxford*; and the Lord *Conway* shortly after them; the Earl of *Clare* into *Worcestershire*, and from thence, by the King's free acceptance, to *Oxford*; there being no other objection against his Lordship, than his staying so long at *London*; but his total differing with them in all their extravagances, he having no manner of relation to the Court, rendered him to his Majesty's opinion under a very good Character. The Earls of *Bedford*, and *Holland*, not without some difficulty, their purpose being discovered or suspected, got into the King's Garrison at *Wallingford*, from whence the Governor gave Advertisement of their Arrival; the Earl of *Northumberland*, with the leave of the House, retired for his health to his House at *Petworth* in *Sussex*; which, though it was in a County entirely then at the Parliament's devotion, yet it was near enough to be infested from some of the King's Quarters, if he had not some assurance of being safe there.

The Earls of Bedford, and Holland, put themselves into the King's Quarters, as likewise some other of the Parliament Lords.

The Violent Party carried now all before them; and were well contented with the absence of those who used to give them some trouble, and vexation. For the better strengthening themselves with the People, they Ordered the Divines of the Assembly, to repair into the Country to their Cures, especially in the Counties of the Association under the Earl of *Manchester*, to stir up the People, with all their Eloquence, to Rise as one Man against their Sove-

B O O K reign; and omitted nothing within their power;
VII. which might contribute to the raising Men or Money; being not a little joyed, when they understood the King had given them more time than they expected, to Compose all Disorders and Divisions among themselves, by his staying with his Army before *Glocester*; which they took to be the greater Blessing, and Preservation to them, because at the same time there were sudden Insurrections in *Kent* against their Ordinances and Jurisdiction, in Defence of the known Laws, and especially of the Book of Common-Prayer; which, if the King's Army had been at any distance to have countenanced, they would never have been able to suppress.

The same of all these Distractions and Disorders at *London*, exceedingly disposed Men in all places to reproach his Majesty's stay before *Glocester*; his Friends at *London* desiring that his Majesty should march directly thither, to take the advantage of those Distractions; and the Lords of the Council at *Oxford*, upon the intelligence and advice from thence, were very solicitous that the King would take that resolution, to which he was himself enough inclined. But his Condition was believed to be, in both places, better than it was; and that he had now a Victorious Army, without an Enemy to restrain his motion; whereas, in truth, his was a weak Army, lessened exceedingly by the losses it sustained before *Bristol*; and when that part of it was marched with Prince *Maurice* into the West, and which could not have marched any other way, the King had not much above six thousand Foot to march with, though

he left none at *Bristol*, but obliged my Lord *Hopton* to Garrison it as he could, which he shortly did; and that would have appeared a very small Army to have marched towards *London*; though it is true the Horse was a noble Body, and Superior in number to that of the Foot.

There was likewise another circumstance, that few Men were then acquainted with: Upon the first News of the taking of *Bristol*, his Majesty, before he left *Oxford*, had sent an Express to the Earl of *New-Castle*, who was then engaged before *Hull*, "that if he found the business of *Hull* to be more difficult than he expected, he should leave it blocked up at a distance, which might restrain Excursions into the Country, and march with his Army into the Associated-Counties; which comprehended *Norfolk*, *Suffolk*, *Cambridgeshire*, and *Essex*. &c. which had Associated themselves, by some Agreement, to serve the Parliament; though the better part of all those Counties, especially of the two greater, were most affected to the King, and wished for an opportunity to express it; and if the Earl would bring his Army through those Counties towards *London*, his Majesty would then resolve, with his own, to march towards it on the other side. And in the very time that his Majesty came before *Glocester*, and before he took the Resolution to sit down before it, that Express returned from the Earl of *New-Castle*, who informed him, "that it was impossible for him to comply with his Commands, in marching with his Army into the Associated-Counties, for that the Gentlemen of the Country, who

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 VII. " Officers, utterly refused to march, except *Hull*
 " were first taken; and that he had not strength
 " enough to march and to leave *Hull* securely bloc-
 " ked up:" which Advertisement, with the con-
 sideration before mentioned, of the enlarging his
 Quarters by the taking of *Glocester*, and the Concur-
 rence of all the Officers, that it would speedily be
 taken, produced that Resolution of Attempting it,
 notwithstanding that the Queen herself writ so im-
 portunately against it, that his Majesty thought it
 necessary to make a Journey himself to *Oxford*, to
 convince her Majesty, and to Compose some distem-
 pers which were risen among his Council there,
 upon the News of the Arrival of some of the Lords
 mentioned before in those Quarters.

Debates in the
 Council at
 Oxford how
 those Lords
 should be
 received.

The King was newly set down before *Glocester*,
 when the Governor of *Wallingford* sent notice to
Oxford, of the Arrival of those two Earls; to whom
 the Lords of the Council returned direction, " that
 " they should stay there, till the King's pleasure was
 " understood;" to whom the Secretary had sent the
 information, and desired his Majesty's will concern-
 ing their reception. The King well knew, any Order
 he should give in it, would be liable to many objec-
 tions, and he had not so good an inclination to either
 of them, as to run any inconvenience for their sakes;
 the Earl of *Bedford* having served in Person against
 him, as the General of the Rebels Horse; and the
 Earl of *Holland*, in the King's opinion, having done
 worse. And therefore his Majesty Commanded,
 " that this Privy-Council should Debate the matter
 " among

“ among themselves , and present their opinion and
“ advice to him , and he would then determine what
“ kind of Entertainment they should have.” The
opinions at the board were several ; some thought ,
“ that his Majesty should receive them very gra-
“ ciously , and with all outward expressions of his
“ acceptance of their return to his Service , and that
“ the demeanour of all others to them should be such
“ as might make them think themselves very wel-
“ come , without the least taking notice of any thing
“ formerly done amiss by them ; which would be a
“ great encouragement to others to come away too :
“ So that the Numbers , and Quality of those who
“ stayed behind , would probably in a short time be
“ so small , that they would have no reputation in
“ the Kingdom to continue the War.” Many differed
diametrically from this ; and were so far from think-
ing this advice agreeable to the dignity , or security
of the King , that they thought it not fit “ to admit
“ them presently to the King’s or Queen’s presence ,
“ till by their good carriage and demeanour , they
“ should give some testimony of their Affections :
“ They had both taken the late Covenant , of which
“ one Clause was , to assist the Forces raised by the
“ Parliament , against the Army raised by the King ;
“ with many reproaches , and known scandals upon
“ that Army. If they had felt a true remorse of Con-
“ science for the ill they had done , they would have
“ left that Party , when that Covenant was to be
“ imposed upon them ; which , since they did not ,
“ that they came now was to be imputed rather to
“ the King’s success , and the weakness of that
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“ power which they had hitherto served, than to any
 “ reformation of their understanding, or improve-
 “ ment of their Allegiance: and that it was great
 “ reason, that they who had given such Arguments
 “ of just jealousy and suspicion of themselves, should
 “ raise a confidence in their Loyalty and Affection
 “ by some Act equal to the other; and therefore
 “ none who had taken that Covenant, should be
 “ admitted to the presence of the King, Queen, or
 “ Prince, before he had taken some other Oath or
 “ Covenant, declaring an equal hatred, and abhor-
 “ ring of the Rebellious Arms which were taken up
 “ against his Majesty, and the Counsels by which
 “ they were taken up.”

It was said, “ that the good, or ill reception of
 “ these Lords, could have no influence upon the
 “ Actions, or Deliberations at *Westminster*, or *London*,
 “ or any considerable Persons there: that they were
 “ but single Men, without any considerable depend-
 “ ance upon them: Whilst they had Reputation,
 “ and Interest enough to do good or hurt, and the
 “ King’s condition needed their attendance, they
 “ chose to be engaged against him; but Now, when
 “ they were able to do him no more harm, they came
 “ to receive benefit and advantage from him: That
 “ it was a common Argument Men used to alledge
 “ of themselves for their compliance with, and sub-
 “ mission to, the Commands of the Parliament; that,
 “ if they did otherwise, their severity, and rigor was
 “ too great, that They and their Families were sure to
 “ be ruined; but, if the King prevailed, He was
 “ gracious and merciful, and would remit their Of-

“ fences whensoever they cast themselves at his feet ; B O O K
 “ which presumption if they should see confirmed in VII.
 “ this example , it would make the observation of
 “ Conscience and Loyalty of no price ; and encourage
 “ those who were risen against him , and exceedingly
 “ dishearten those who had been honest and faithful
 “ from the beginning : That there could ensue no
 “ inconvenience from any reservedness and coldness
 “ towards them ; for they durst not return to *London* ,
 “ having now made themselves odious to that Party ,
 “ and having no hope but from the acceptance of
 “ his Majesty ; which they should merit before they
 “ found .” There was a third opinion between these
 extremes , “ that they should be neither Courted nor
 “ Neglected , but be admitted to kiss the King’s and
 “ Queen’s hands , and to dispose themselves as they
 “ thought fit ; and so to leave the rest to their future
 “ demeanour :” and to resolve which of these
 opinions to follow , was another motive for his Ma-
 jesty’s sudden Journey to *Oxford* .

The King found greater alterations in the minds The King
 and spirits at *Oxford* , than he expected after so much comes to
 success as had befallen him ; and that success was it , Oxford to
 that had made the alterations ; it being the unlucky consult about
 temper of that place , and that Company , to be the it.
 soonest and the most desperately cast down upon any
 misfortune or loss , and to be again , upon any Victory ,
 the most elated , and the most apt to undervalue any
 difficulties which remained . The taking *Bristol* had
 so possessed them with joy , that they thought the
 War even at an end , and that there was nothing left
 to be done , but to take possession of *London* ; which

B O O K they were assured would be delivered to them upon
VII. demand: many Members of both Houses were come to *Oxford*, which assured them, “ the violent People “ there, were even in despair; and after the News “ came of the Surrender of *Bristol*, that they had only “ kept up their spirits in hopes that the King would “ engage his Army in the Siege of *Glocester*, which “ some of them had seemed to promise their Friends “ would be the Case:” from whence they would infer, “ that the King was betrayed, and that they who had “ persuaded him to undertake that design, were corrupted by the Parliament.” And the Envy and Jealousy of all this fell upon Sir *John Colepepper*, who was indeed of the opinion for the Siege, but, without doubt, how much soever he suffered at that time, and afterwards, under that reproach, he believed there was very good reason for that Engagement, and was most free from any corrupt end, and of most sincere fidelity.

This discourse and imagination had made wonderful impression upon the Queen, who was inflamed with a jealousy that there was a design to lessen her Interest in the King, and that Prince *Rupert* was Chief in that Conspiracy, and meant to bring it to pass by keeping the King still in the Army, and by hindering his coming to *Oxford*: and out of this apprehension the Queen had written so warmly and concernedly to the King, who was the most incapable of any such apprehensions, and had her Majesty in so perfect an adoration, that as soon as he received that Letter, without delay he came to *Oxford*, and quickly composed those mistakes; though the being

engaged before *Glocester* was still very grievous, and reproaches were publicly cast upon those who gave the advice.

But that which took up most of the time of that one day that the King stayed at *Oxford*, was concerning the two Lords who were retained at *Wallingford*; which had been agitated in the Council with great passion before the King's coming. The King caused the Council to meet the next morning, and asked their advice, "whether the Earls of *Bedford*, and " of *Holland*, should be admitted to come into " *Oxford*, or obliged to return from whence they " came? or, if admitted, how they should be received, or countenanced by their Majesties?" And it cannot be enough wondered at, that there should be any difference of opinion in that matter; but it cannot, be expressed, with how much earnestness and unreasonableness the whole was debated, and how warmly even they, who in all other debates still expressed all moderation and temper, did now oppose the receiving these Lords with any grace, with more passion, and other reasons, than had been offered in their former Conferences; so that there was scarce known such an union in opinion at that board, in any thing, where disunion was very inconvenient.

All exaggerated " the Carriage and foul Ingratitude of the Earl of *Holland*, from the beginning " of the Parliament; and the Earl of *Bedford's* being " General of the Horse in the Earl of *Essex's* Army; " and now when the Parliament was low, and They " had lost their credit and interest There, they were " come to the King, whom they had so much

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“offended; and expected to be as much, it may be,
“more made of, than they who had borne the heat
“of the day: which would so much reflect upon the
“King’s Honor, that Men would be exceedingly
“discouraged to serve him.’ Some moved, “that
“they might be detained, and kept Prisoners of War,
“since they came into the King’s Quarters without
“any Pass;” others, as plainly, and more vehemently
pressed, “that they might not be suffered to come to
“*Oxford*, or where the King or Queen should be;
“but permitted to live in some other place within
“the King’s Quarters, until they should manifest
“their Affections by some Service. They who
“thought this too severe and unpolitic, proposed
“that they might be suffered to come to *Oxford*, that
“thereby they might be kept from returning to the
“Parliament” (which appeared to most to be liable
to many exceptions) “but that being at *Oxford*, they
“should not come to Court; and that no Privy-
“Counsellor should visit them.”

In this whole Debate, the Chancellor of the Ex-
chequer, who seldom spoke without some earnest-
ness, was the only Man (except another, who brought
no credit to the opinion, the Lord *Savile*) who advised
confidently, “that they might be very graciously re-
“ceived by both their Majesties, and civilly be visited
“and treated by every Body; that other Men might,
“by the entertainment they received, be encouraged
“to desert the Parliament too.” He said, “it would be
“too great a disadvantage to the King, and to his Cause,
“that whilst the Parliament used all the industry and
“artifices, to corrupt the Duty and Affection of the

“ Subject, and had their Arms open to receive and
 “ embrace all, who would come to them. his Majesty
 “ should admit none to return to him, who had been
 “ faulty, or not come so soon as they ought to have
 “ done ; that if the King had a mind to gratify , and
 “ oblige the Parliament, he could not do it more to
 “ their hearts desire, than by rejecting the application
 “ of these Lords, or suffering it to pass unregarded.”
 There was one Argument against their admission
 urged very loudly, “ that it would disturb the Peace
 “ of the place ;” the Earl of *Bedford* had Commanded
 that part of the Army, which infested the Marquis of
Hertford , at his being at *Sherborne* , when the Mar-
 quis had sent *Harry Seymour*, as is mentioned before,
 with a Challenge to the Earl to fight with him; which
 the Earl reasonably declined at that time; and said,
 “ he would be ready, when the business of the Par-
 “ liament should be over , to wait upon the Mar-
 “ quis when he should require it.” And some Men,
 who were near enough to the Marquis’s Counsels,
 undertook to know, that if the Earl of *Bedford*
 should be in *Oxford*, the Marquis, who was every day
 expected, would exact the performance of his pro-
 mise; which sure he was too wise to do.

The King , during the whole Debate, did not ex-
 press any thing of his own sense, save that he seemed
 well pleased with any sharpness that was expressed to-
 wards the Earl of *Holland*. He said, “ that he was
 “ bound to his good behaviour, by being under the
 “ common reproach of inclining too much to those
 “ who had used him worst; of which he would not be
 “ guilty :” However, he did not think, at this time,

B O O K that it would be good to make any Persons desperate;
VII. and therefore gave order, "that the Governor of
 " *Wallingford* should permit them to continue their
 " Journey to *Oxford*; where all Men might use what
 " civilities they pleased to them; and that Himself,
 " and the Queen would do that towards them, which
 " upon their application and address, they should
 " think fit:" and though this determination was given,
 without the least discovery of grace towards the Per-
 sons of those Lords, and not without some reflections
 of prejudice towards them, it was not grateful to the
 Table; which was evident enough by their Counte-
 nance. The next morning, the King returned to the
 Army.

There had been, as is said, very great divisions in the
 Counsels at *Westminster*, from the time of the Treaty,
 and the very abrupt breaking it off; and the Earl of
Northumberland, resenting the Affront done to him by
Martin had increased those divisions; and the ill suc-
 cesses afterwards in the Defeat of *Waller*, and the
 taking of *Bristol*, had given every Man Courage to
 say what he would. And then the proceeding upon
 Mr *Waller's* discovery, and obliging all Men to take
 a desperate Engagement, which they durst not refuse,
 for fear of being declared guilty of the Plot, as many
 of them were, incensed very many: But above all,
 the prosperity of the King's Affairs made every Body
 wish to come into his Quarters. A great Number of
 the House of Commons, who were known always to
 wish well came to *Oxford*: and of the Peers, the Earl
 of *Portland*, who was always very faithful to the
 King, and had stayed in the House of Peers by

his Majesty's leave, and had been accused by Mr. *Waller* to be privy to that design, upon which he had endured a long imprisonment, came at this time to *Oxford*, as is said before, together with the Lord *Conway*, and the Lord *Lovelace*; the former of which had been likewise questioned, and imprisoned, and, the latter had been as knowing of the matter, and of constant duty to the King; and all three had gotten liberty, and opportunity to come away by swallowing that Vow, and Oath, which could only set them free, and which they made haste to Answer for to the King. The Return of the Earl of *Essex* to *London* in ill humor, had given opportunity to the Earl of *Holland*, and the rest, who were weary of the work in hand, to inflame him to resentment of the neglects which had been put upon him, and the jealousies which were entertained of him. The Earl of *Bedford* had given up his Commission of General of the Horse, and quitted the Service, and never had any Affection to their ways in his Judgment. The Earl of *Clare* had been with the King at *York*, and had his leave to return to *London*, to intend his own particular Affairs; and, during his stay, had never concurred in any malicious Counsel against the King, but was looked upon as a Man, not only firm to the Principles of Monarchy, but of Duty to the Person of the King. He was a Man of Honor, and of Courage, and would have been an excellent Person, if his heart had not been set too much upon the keeping, and improving his Estate; he was weary of the Company he kept, and easily hearkened to the Earl of *Holland*, in any consultation how to recover the King's Authority,

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B O O K and to put an end to the War. The Earl of *Essex* was,
VII. as is said before, enough provoked, and incensed, and willingly heard all the Lords, and others, who inveighed against the violent Proceedings of those who swayed the Parliament, and differed not with them in his judgment of the Men, and the Matter: so that they believed that he would as readily be disposed to agree upon the Remedy, as he did upon the Disease.

Their end and design was, as I said, if they could draw him to a concurrence, that They, and all the rest of those who were accounted moderate Men, that is who desired a Peace, and to return to their duty to the King (which were much the Major part of both Houses that remained at *Westminster*, after so many of both were gone to the King) might all go to the Army; and thereupon the General, and They, to write to the Parliament together, and to send such Propositions to them, as the Parliament should transmit to the King, as the conditions of Peace. If the King should refuse to consent to them, it would be an infallible way to unite all People to compel him to it: but if the Parliament would refuse to transmit those Propositions to the King, or to consent to a Peace upon those conditions, they would then declare against them, for not adhering to the grounds upon which the War was first begun, and would join themselves to the King to force them to it. If this had been done in that conjuncture, when the authority and credit of the Earl of *Essex* was not yet eclipsed, and before an Independant Army was raised, which was shortly after done, it could not probably have failed of the success desired. But the

Earl was too scrupulous and too punctual to that which he called a Trust; and this was too barefaced a separation for him to engage in: Besides that he did believe, that he should be able to suppress that violent Party by the Parliament itself, and he thought that would bring all about which he desired; and so he did not only reject what was proposed to him, but expressed such a dislike of the Earl of *Holland* for proposing it, that he thought it high time to get himself out of his reach. The Earl of *Holland*, who always considered himself in the first place, had, from the time of the Queen's landing, privately made offer of his Service to the Queen, and renewed his old confidence and friendship with Mr. *Jermyn*; and knowing well to enhance the value of his own Service, made great promises of notable Service; and Mr. *Jermyn* easily persuaded her Majesty, "that it was much better for her to restore an old Servant, whom she knew so well to her confidence (though he had stepped out of the way) than to rely upon the fidelity of any of those, who were now about the King, and who were all upon the matter strangers to her, at least not enough known by her;" and then, "that by laying hold upon this opportunity, she would, at her first coming to the King, carry his Restoration with her, possess herself of the whole frame of his business, because all other designs would be laid aside; and so all the good, that would redound to the King and Kingdom from this new Negotiation, must by the consent of all the world, be attributed to her Majesty's Wisdom and Conduct." This appearing hopeful to

B O O K her Majesty, and all that had any thing of Hope was
VII. by the other always looked upon as Certain, the correspondence was embraced; and the Earl assured not only to be restored to his former Station in all respects, but to a Title to new Interests. And upon this encouragement and obligation, when he found he could not prevail with the Earl of *Essex*, that the King's Affairs prospered, and that *Bristol* was now taken, and the Queen come to *Oxford*, he resolved Himself to go thither, and prevailed with the Earls of *Bedford*, and *Clare*, to do the like; he assuring them, that they should be very well received. The Earl of *Clare* made his Journey by himself, out of the common Road, and came without any interruption into *Oxford*, at the time appointed: the Earls of *Bedford*, and *Holland*, came together to *Wallingford*, as is mentioned. The Earl of *Northumberland*, who was naturally suspicious, went to his own House at *Petworth* in *Suffex*: by which he thought he showed aversion enough to the Counsels at *Westminster*, and would keep it in his own power to return, if he found that the reception of the other Lords at *Oxford* was not answerable to their expectation; besides that he would expect the result of the Lord *Conway*'s Negotiation, who was more trusted by him than any other.

The leave for the two Earls to come from *Wallingford* to *Oxford*, was declared but the night before the King returned to the Army; and was not sent thither till the next day. So that the Lords came not to *Oxford* till two days after, much mortified with the time they had been forced to spend at *Wallingford*, and with the disputation, they heard, had been held

concerning them; of which they had received so particular information, that the Earl of *Holland* writ a very civil Letter to the Chancellor of the Exchequer before he came to *Oxford*, taking notice of "the Affection he had showed to him in his advice to the King." Both of them had Friends enough there to provide for their accommodation in convenient Lodgings, so that the one had a Lodging at *Magdalen-College* in *Oxford*, of which House he had formerly been Member; the other lay in *Baliol-College*, where he had a Daughter, who spared him part of her Lodgings. But for any application to them by the Lords, or Persons in Authority there, they had no reason to think themselves very welcome. They went, in the first place, to do their Duties to the Queen; who received them coldly enough, not out of disinclination, or unwillingness to show them any countenance, but pure compliance with the ill humor of the Town, which she detested: nor did Mr. *Jermyn*, who still valued himself upon the impossible faculty to please All, and displease None, think fit to deal clearly with them in that point (having, probably, said more in his Letters of correspondence and advice, than he had Authority to do; it being his custom to write, and speak, what was most grateful to the Persons) so that the Earl of *Holland*, with whom alone the correspondence had been, began to think himself betrayed, and invited to *Oxford* only to be exposed to contempt. He came one morning to visit the Chancellor of the Exchequer, when there were the Lord *Cottington*, and two or three other Privy-Counsellors with him, who all went presently

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B O O K away, without so much as saluting him; which
VII. offended the Chancellor as much as it did Him, and in truth obliged the Chancellor to more ceremony and civility, than, it may be, he would otherwise have practised: so that he did visit him again, and made all professions and offers of kindness and service to him: which he did very heartily; and complied therein, not only with his own inclinations, but with his judgment, as very important to the King's Service; and did all he could to induce others to be of the same opinion; in which he had no great success.

The Intelligence from *London* brought, every day, the Resolution of the Parliament, "to relieve *Glocester*; and that, if their Levies did not supply them with Men soon enough, the Trained-bands of the City would march out with the General for that Service: whereupon the three Earls, *Bedford, Holland, and Clare*, after some days stay in *Oxford*, thought it necessary to offer their Service to the King in the Army, and to bear their part in any danger that might happen by an engagement between the Armies, and so went together to *Glocester*; where the King received them without any disrespect, and spoke with them as they gave him occasion.

The King's
 Affairs in the
 West.

Whilst the King continued before *Glocester*, his Forces in the West moved with a full gale and tide of success. The Earl of *Carnarvon* marched with the Horse and Dragoons, being near two thousand, into *Dorsetshire*, two days before Prince *Maurice* moved with his Foot and Cannon from *Bristol*, and had made a fair entrance upon the reduction of that whole Country, before his Highness overtook him; and it

was thought then, that if the Prince had marched more slowly, the Earl had perfected that work. Upon the Surrender of *Bristol*, many of the Gentlemen, and others of that County, who were engaged in that City for the Parliament, had visited their Houses, and Friends, in their Journey to *London*, whither by their safe-conduct they went, and had made such prodigious discourses of the fierceness and courage of the Cavaliers (as most Men who run away, or are beaten, extol the power of the Enemy which had been too hard for them) that resisting them begun to be thought a matter impossible. One Mr. *Strode*, a Man much relied on in those parts and of a good Fortune, after he had visited his House, took *Dorchester* in his way to *London*, and being desired by the Magistrates, “to view their Works and Fortifications, and to “give his Judgment of them;” after he had walked about them, he told them, “that those Works might “keep out the Cavaliers about half an hour;” and then told them strange stories of the manner of Assaulting *Bristol*; “and that the King’s Soldiers made “nothing of running up Walls twenty foot high, “and that no Works could keep them out;” which he said not out of any purpose to betray them (for no Man wished the King’s Army worse success) but had really so much horror, and consternation about him, and the dreadful Image of the Storm of *Bristol* imprinted in his mind, that he did truly believe, they had scaled all those Forts and Places which were delivered to them; and he propagated this fear and trepidation so fruitfully where he came, that the Earl of *Carnarvon* came no sooner near *Dorchester* with his

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Dorchester
Surrendered.

Horse and Dragoons (which, it may be, was understood to be the Van of the Victorious Army which had taken *Bristol*) but the Town sent Commissioners to him to Treat; and upon Articles of Indemnity, that they should not be plundered, and not suffer for the ill they had done, delivered up the Town (which was strongly Situated, and might very well have been Defended by the spirits of these People, if they had Courage equal to their Malice; for a place more entirely disaffected to the King, *England* had not) with all their Arms, Ammunition, and Ordnance. The fame of the Earl's coming had before frightened Sir *Walter Earl*, who had for a long time Besieged *Corfe-Castle* (the House of the Lord-Chief-Justice *Banks*, defended by his Lady with her Servants, and some few Gentlemen, and Tenants, who betook themselves thither for Her assistance, and their own security) from that Siege; and he making more haste to convey himself to *London*, than Generals use to do; who have the care and charge of others, his Forces were presently dispersed. And now the Surrender of *Dorchester* (the Magazine from whence the other places were supplied with principles of Rebellion) infused the same spirit into *Weymouth*, a very convenient Harbour and Haven: and that example again prevailed on the Island and Castle of *Portland* (a place not enough understood, but of wonderful importance) to all which the Earl granted fair conditions, and received them into his Majesty's Protection.

Weymouth
and Portland
Surrendered
to the King's
Forces.

Hither Prince *Maurice* came now up with Foot and Cannon, and neglecting to follow the Train of the Enemies fears to *Lyme*, and *Poole*, the only two Gar-
risons

rifons then left in their poffeffion, ftayed with his Army about *Dorcheſter* and *Weymouth* ſome days, under the Notion of ſettling and diſpoſing the Government of thoſe Garrifons. Here the Soldiers, taking advantage of the famous Malignity of thoſe places, uſed great licence; neither was there care taken to obſerve thoſe Articles which had been made upon the Surrender of the Towns; which the Earl of *Carnarvon*, who was full of Honor and Juſtice upon all Contracts, took ſo ill, that he quitted the Command he had with thoſe Forces, and returned to the King before *Gloceſter*; which publiſhed the injuſtice with more ſcandal, Whether this licence, which was much ſpoken of, and, no doubt, given out to be greater than it was, aliened the Affections of thoſe parts, or whether the abſence of the Marquis of *Hertford* from the Army, which was not till then taken notice of, begot an apprehenſion that there would not be much Lenity uſed towards thoſe who had been high, and pertinacious Offenders, or whether this Army, when it was together, ſeemed leſs formidable than it was before conceived to be, or that the terror which had poſſeſſed and ſeized upon their Spirits, was ſo violent that it could not continue, and ſo Men grew leſs amazed, I know not: but thoſe two ſmall Towns, whereof *Lyme* was believed inconfiderable, returned ſo peremptory a refusal to the Prince's Summons, that his Highneſs reſolved not to Attack them; and ſo

Prince Maurice comes to Exeter with his Army.

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Marquis of *Hertford*, as is before remembered, to govern the Affairs of *Devonshire*, with one Regiment of Horse, and another of new Levied and half-armed Foot, had so increased his Numbers by the concurrence of the Gentlemen of that County, that he fixed strong Quarters within less than a Mile of the City, and kept his Guards even to the Gates; when the Earl of *Stamford* was within, with a strength, at least equal in number to the Besiegers.

The Parliament commanded the Relief of this place, by special instructions, to their Admiral the Earl of *Warwick*; after whose having made show of Landing Men in several places upon the Coast, and thereby compelled Sir *John Berkeley* to make quick and wearisome marches with Horse and Dragoons from place to place, the wind coming fair, the Fleet left those who attended their Landing about *Totness*, turned about, and with a fresh Gale made towards the River, that leads to the Walls of *Exeter*, and having the Command of both sides of the River, upon a flat, by their Cannon, the Earl presumed that way he should be able to send Relief into the City; but the diligence, and providence of Sir *John Berkeley* had fortunately cast up some slight works upon the advantageous Nooks of the River, in which his Men might be in some security from the Cannon of the Ships; and made great haste with his Horse to hinder their Landing; and so this Attempt was not only without success, but so unfortunate, that it discouraged the Seamen from endeavouring the like again. For after three or four hours pouring their great shot, from their Ships, upon the Land-Forces, the Tide falling, the Earl of *Warwick*

The Earl of
Warwick

fell off with his Fleet, leaving three Ships behind him, of which one was burnt, and the other two taken from the Land, in view of his whole Fleet; which no more looked after the Relief of *Exeter* that way.

Whilst all the King's Forces were employed in the blocking up the Town, and attending the Coast, to wait upon the Earl of *Warwick*, the Garrison of *Plymouth* increased very fast, into which the Fleet disburdened themselves of all they could spare; and the North parts of *Devonshire* gathered apace into a head for the Parliament; *Barnstable*, and *Bediford*, being Garrisoned by them; which having an uninterrupted line of Communication with *Plymouth*, resolved to join their whole strength, and so to compel the Enemy to draw off from the Walls of *Exeter*, which had been very easy to have been done, if they in the City had been as active for their own Preservation. Sir *John Berkeley* having notice of this Preparation and Resolution, sent Colonel *John Digby* (who had from their first entrance into *Cornwal*, Commanded the Horse) with his own Regiment of Horse, and some loose Troops of Dragoons, into the North of *Devon*, to hinder the joining of the Rebels Forces. He chose *Torrington* for his Quarter, and within few days drew to him a Troop of new raised Horse, and a Regiment of Foot, raised by his old Friends in *Cornwal*; so that he had with him above three hundred Horse, and six or seven hundred Foot. Those of *Bediford* and *Barnstable*, being Superior in number, and apprehending that the King's Successes Eastward, might increase His strength and power There, and weaken Theirs, resolved to try their Fortunes; and joining themself-

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vest together, to the Number of above twelve hundred Foot, and three hundred Horse, under the Command of Colonel *Bennet*, hoped to surprize Colonel *John Digby* at *Torrington*; and he was upon the matter surpris'd: for albeit he had notice in the Night from *Barnstable*, "that the Forces drew out thence to *Bedford* in the Night, and that they intended to fall on " his Quarters early in the Morning;" and thereupon put himself into a posture to receive them, and drew up all his Forces together out of the Town, upon such a piece of ground, as, in that inclosed County, could be most advantageous for his Horse, having, through all the little Inclosures, cut Gaps, through which his Horse might enter; yet, after he had attended their coming till Noon, and heard no more of them, and his small Parties, which were sent out to inquire, returned with assurance, that there was no appearance of an Enemy, he believed they had given over their design; and so dismissed his Horse to their several Quarters, reserving only one hundred and fifty upon their Guard, and returned himself into the Town with the Foot.

But, within less than an hour, he received the Alarm, "that the Enemy was within half a Mile of " the Town." The confusion was very great, so that he resolv'd not to draw the Foot out of the Town; but having placed them in the best manner he could, upon the Avenues, himself went to the Horse out of the Town, resolving to wait upon the Rear of the Enemy; who were drawn up on the same piece of ground, on which he had expected them all the morning. The Colonel, whose

courage, and vivacity upon Action, was very eminent, and commonly very fortunate, intended rather to look upon them, than to engage with them, before his other Troops came up; but having divided his small Party of Horse, the whole consisting but of one hundred and fifty, into several Parties, and distributed them into several little Closets, out of which there were gaps into the larger ground, upon which the Enemy stood, a forelorn hope of fifty Musqueteers advanced towards that ground where himself was, and if they had recovered the Hedge, they would easily have driven him thence. And therefore, as the only expedient left, himself taking four or five Officers into the Front with him, Charged that forelorn hope; which immediately threw down their Arms, and run upon their own Body, and carried so infectious a fear with them, that without making a Stand, or their Horse offering once to Charge, the whole Body Routed themselves, and fled; Colonel *Digby* following the execution with his Horse, till their Swords were blunted with slaughter, and his Numbers over-burdened with Prisoners; though the Foot out of the Town hastened to the chase, as soon as they saw what terror had possessed their Enemies.

Sir John
Digby Routs
the Parlia-
ment's Forces
at Torrington.

In this Action (for it cannot be called a Battle; hardly a Skirmish; where no resistance was made) there were near two hundred killed, and above two hundred taken Prisoners, and those that fled contributed more to the Victory, than the Prisoners, or the slain, for they were scattered and dispersed over all the Country, and scarce a Man without a

BOOK VII. cut over the face and head, or some other hurt; that wrought more upon the Neighbours towards their conversion, than any Sermon could be Preached to them. Some of the Principal Officers, and of their Horse, got into *Bediford*, and *Barnstable*; and not considering the inconvenience of acknowledging, that God was extraordinary propitious to the Cavaliers, told strange stories of "the horror and" "fear that seized upon them, and that no body saw" "above six of the Enemy, that Charged them;" which proved a greater dismay to their Friends, than their Defeat.

At this time came Prince *Maurice* to *Exeter*, the fame of whose arrival brought a new terror, so that the Fort at *Appledore*, which commanded the River to *Barnstable* and *Bediford*, being delivered to Colonel *Digby*, within two or three days after his Victory, those two Towns shortly after submitted to his Majesty, upon promise of Pardon, and such other Articles as were of course; which Colonel *Digby* saw precisely observed, as far as concerned the Towns in point of plunder, or violence towards the Inhabitants. And this success so wrought upon the Spirits, and Temper of that People, that all the Persons of eminent disaffection withdrawing themselves, according to their liberty by the Articles; Colonel *Digby*, within very few days, increased his small Party to the Number of three thousand Foot, and eight hundred Horse; with which he was by Prince *Maurice* ordered to march to *Plymouth*, and to block up that place from making incursions into the Country.

The loss of all their Garrisons on the North-Coast, and despair of succour or relief from any other place, prevailed with the Earl of *Stamford*, and that Committee in *Exeter* (to whom the Earl was not superior) to Treat with the Prince; and thereupon Articles were agreed to; and that rich and pleasant City was delivered on the fourth of *September*, which was within fourteen or sixteen days after Prince *Maurice* came thither, into the King's protection, after it had suffered no other distress, or impression from the Besiegers, than the being kept from taking the Air without their own Walls, and from being supplied from the Country-Markets.

Exeter delivered to the Prince upon Articles, September 4.

There was an accident fell out a little before this time, that gave new Argument of trouble to the King, upon a difference between Prince *Maurice* and the Marquis. It hath been said, that the Earl of *Carnarvon*, who was General of the Horse of the Western Army, had marched from *Bristol* the day before the Prince, and had taken *Dorchester*, and *Weymouth*, before his Highness came up to the Army, both considerable places, and the Seats of great Malignity. The former was not thought necessary to be made a Garrison, but the latter was the best Port-Town of that County, and to be kept with great care. The Marquis had made some promise of the Government thereof, when it should be taken (of which they made no doubt) to Sir *Anthony Ashley Cooper*, a young Gentleman of that County, of a fair and plentiful Fortune, and one, who in the opinion of most Men, was like to advance the place by being Governor of it, and to raise Men for the defence of it,

B O O K VII. without lessening the Army ; and had, in expectation of it, made some provision of Officers and Soldiers, when it should be time to call them together. Prince *Maurice*, on the other side, had some other Person in his view, upon whom he intended to confer that charge, when it should fall. In the moment that the Town was taken, and before the Prince came thither, Sir *Anthony*, hearing that the Marquis came not with the Army, but remained some time at *Bristol*, made all the haste he could to him, and came thither the same day the King left it; and applied himself to the Marquis, who remembered his promise, and thought himself obliged to make it good, and that it was in his power so to do, since it appeared, that the Town was taken before the King had declared to him, that he should not go to the Army; till when he ought to be looked upon as General of it. He conferred with the Chancellor of the Exchequer upon it, as a matter in which his Honor was concerned, and on which his heart was set. Sir *Anthony* came likewise to him, who was of his acquaintance, and desired his assistance, “ that, after
“ so much charge he had been put to, in the expectation of it, and to prepare for it, he might not
“ be exposed to the Mirth, and Contempt of the
“ Country.” It was evident that if he returned with the Commission from the Marquis (which he was most inclined to give him) both He and the Commission would be affronted, and the Town would not be suffered to submit to him. Therefore the Chancellor was of opinion, that there was no way but to appeal to the King, and desire his Favor, as

well as his Justice, in giving his Commission to the Person designed by the Marquis; which would remove that part of the exception, which would most trouble the Prince; and he offered to write himself very earnestly to the King. Besides his desire to gratify the Marquis, he did in truth believe it of great importance to his Majesty's Service, to engage a Person of such a Fortune and Interest, so thoroughly in his quarrel, as he then believed such an obligation must needs do; the flexibility and instability of that Gentleman's nature, not being then understood, or suspected.

He did write, with all the skill and importunity he could use, to the King; and writ to the Lord *Falkland*, "to take Sir *John Colepepper* with him, if he found any aversion in the King, that they might together discourse, and prevail with him." But his Majesty positively and obstinately refused to grant it; and said, "he would not, to please the Marquis in an unjust pretence, put a public obligation and affront upon his Nephew." So the express returned without effect, and the Marquis was as sensibly touched as could be imagined; and said, "that he was fallen from all credit with the King, and was made incapable of doing him farther Service; that his Fidelity should never be lessened towards him" (as in truth he was incapable of a disloyal thought) "but since he was become so totally useless to the King, and to his Friends, he hoped his Majesty would give him leave to retire to his own House; where, he doubted not, he should be suffered to live privately, and quietly,

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“ to pray for the King.” The Chancellor knew well the nature of the Marquis, that would never give him leave to pursue any Resolution which he found might prove inconvenient to his Majesty, for whom he had all possible duty; yet he knew too, that the mischief was not small, from the observation that the Marquis thought himself ill used, and that there were too many who would take the opportunity to foment those jealousies and discontents; and therefore resolved (having despatched all things which were incumbent on him at *Bristol*, and used all freedom with the Marquis, for the dispelling all troublesome imaginations) to go himself to the King, and to represent that affair to him, and the probable consequences of it, with new Instances. And at last, with very great difficulty, he did so far prevail with his Majesty, that he gave a Commission to Sir *Anthony Ashley Cooper*, to be Governor of *Weymouth*; which he was the more easily persuaded to, out of some prejudice he had to the Person, who, he understood, was designed to that Government. However, the Marquis received it as a seasonable Act of favor to himself, and in a short time after, came from *Bristol* to *Oxford*, to attend upon his Majesty according to his Command.

The Prosecu-
tion of the
Siege of
Gloicester.

At *Gloicester* the business proceeded very slowly: for though the Army increased wonderfully there, by the access of Forces from all Quarters, yet the King had neither Money, nor materials requisite for a Siege, and they in the Town behaved themselves with great Courage and Resolution, and made many sharp and bold Sallies upon the King's Forces, and Did

more hurt commonly than they Received; and many Officers of Name, besides common Soldiers, were slain in the Trenches, and Approaches; the Governor leaving nothing unperformed that became a vigilant Commander. Sometimes, upon the Sallies, the Horse got between the Town and Them, so that many Prisoners were taken, who were always drunk; and, after they were recovered, they confessed, "that the Governor always gave the Party that made the Sally, as much Wine and strong Water as they desired to drink:" so that it seems their mettle was not purely natural; yet it is very observable, that, in all the time the King lay there with a very glorious Army, and after the taking of a City of much greater name, there was not one Officer run from the Town to him, nor above three common Soldiers, which is a great Argument, the discipline within was very good. Besides the loss of Men before the Town, both from the Walls, and by sickness (which was not greater than was to be reasonably expected) a very great Licence broke into the Army both among Officers, and Soldiers; the malignity of these parts being thought excuse for the exercise of any rapine, or severity among the Inhabitants. Inasmuch as it is hardly to be credited, how many thousand Sheep were in a few days destroyed, besides what were brought in by the Commissaries for a regular provision; and many Country-Men imprisoned by Officers without Warrant, or the least knowledge of the King's, till they had paid good Sums of Money, for their Delinquency; all which brought great clamor upon the Discipline of the

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BOOK VII. Army, and Justice of the Officers, and made them likewise less prepared for the Service they were to expect.

In the mean time nothing was left at *London* unattempted, that might advance the preparation for the relief of *Glocester*. All Overtures of Peace were suppressed, and the City purely at the Devotion of those who were most Violent, who put one compliment upon them at this time, that is not to be passed over. It is remembered before, that, at the beginning of these distractions, before the King's going into the North, his Majesty had, upon the reiterated importunity of the two Houses, made Sir *John Coniers* Lieutenant of the Tower of *London*; who was a Soldier of very good estimation, and had been the Lieutenant-General of his Horse in that last preparation against the *Scots*, and Governor of *Berwick*. The Parliament thought, by this obligation, to have made him their own Creature, and desired to have engaged him in some active Command in their Armies, having the Reputation of one of the best Officers of Horse of that time. But he warily declined that engagement, and contained himself within the limits of that place, which, by the multitude of Prisoners, sent to the Tower by the two Houses, and the excessive Fees they paid, yielded him a vast profit; in the administration whereof, he was so impartial, that those Prisoners who suffered most for his Majesty, found no more favor or indulgence from him, than the rest. About this time, either discerning that they grew to Confide less in him, than they had done, and that he must engage

himself in their Service, or should shortly lose the benefit of their good opinion, or really abhorring to be so near those Actions he saw every day committed, and to lie under the scandal of keeping his Majesty's only Fort which he could not apply to his Service, he desired leave from the Houses, "to go into *Holland*," where his Education had been, and his Fortune was, without obliging himself to a time of return. The Proposition was not unwelcome to the Houses; and thereupon they immediately committed that charge, the Custody of the Tower of *London*, to the Lord-Mayor *Pennington*; that the City might see they were trusted to hold their own Reins, and had a jurisdiction committed to them which had always justified with their own. This compliment served to a double purpose; for thereby, as they made the City believe they had put themselves under their protection, so they were sure, they had put the City under the power, or under the apprehension of the power of him, who would never forsake them out of an Appetite to Peace.

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The Custody
of the Tower
committed by
the two Houses
to the Lord-
Mayor Pen-
nington.

The Earl of *Essex* now declared, that he would himself undertake the relief of *Glocester*, whereas before Sir *William Waller* was designed to it, and, whencesoever it proceeded, was returned to his old full alacrity against the King, and recovered those Officers and Soldiers again to him, who had absented by his Connivance, or upon an opinion that he would march no more; yet his Numbers increased not so fast as the occasion required: for Colonel *Massy* found means to send many Messengers out of the Town, to advertise the straits he was in, and

B O O K the time that he should be able to hold out. Their
VII. Ordinance of Pressing, though executed with unusual rigor, insomuch as Persons of good Fortunes, who had retired to *London*. that they might be less taken notice of, were seized on, and detained in Custody, till they paid so much Money, or procured an able Man to go in their places, brought not in such a supply as they expected; and such as were brought in, and delivered to the Officers, declared such an averseness to the work to which they were designed, and such a Peremptory resolution not to Fight, that they only increased their Numbers, not their Strength and run away upon the first opportunity. In the end, they had no other resort for Men; but to those who had so constantly supplied them with Money, and prevailed with their true Friends, the City, which they still alarmed with the King's irreconcilableness to them, to send three or four of their Trained-band-Regiments, or Auxiliaries, to Fight with the Enemy at that distance, rather than to expect him at their own Walls, where they must be assured to see him as soon as *Glocester* should be reduced; and then they would be as much perplexed with the Malignants within, as with the Enemy without their City.

Upon such Arguments, and the power of the Earl of *Essex*, so many Regiments of Horse and Foot as he desired, were assigned to march with him; and so, towards the end of *August*, he marched out of *London*; and having appointed a Rendezvous near *Aylesbury*, where he was met by the Lord *Grey*. and other Forces of the Associated Counties, from thence he marched by easy Journeys towards *Glocester*,

The Earl of
Essex marches
 out of *London*
 on relieve
Glocester.

with an Army of above eight thousand Foot, and four thousand Horse. It would not at first be credited at the Leaguer, that the Earl of *Essex* could be in a condition to attempt such a work; and therefore they were too negligent upon the Intelligence, and suspected rather that he would give some Alarm to *Oxford*, where the Queen was, and thereby hope to draw the Army from *Glocester*, than that in truth he would venture upon so tedious a march, where he must pass over a Campaign near thirty miles in length, where half the King's Body of Horse would distress, if not destroy his whole Army, and through a Country eaten bare, where he could find neither Provision for Man nor Horse; and if he should, without interruption, be suffered to go into *Glocester*, he could neither stay there, nor possibly retire to *London*, without being destroyed in the Rear by the King's Army, which should nevertheless not engage itself in the hazard of a Battle. Upon these conclusions they proceeded in their works before *Glocester*, their Galleries being near finished, and visibly a great want of Ammunition in the Town; yet the Lord *Wilmot* was appointed, with a good Party of Horse, to wait about *Banbury*, and to retire before the Enemy, if he should advance towards *Glocester*, and to give such impediments to their March, as in such a Country might be easy to do; Prince *Rupert* himself staying with the Body of Horse, upon the Hills above *Glocester*, to join, if the Earl of *Essex* should be so hardy as to venture.

The Earl came to *Brackly*, and having there taken in from *Leicester* and *Bedford*, the last recruits upon

B O O K which he depended, he marched steadily over all
VII. that Campaign, which they thought he feared, towards *Gloceſter*; and though the King's Horſe were often within view, and entertained him with light Skirmiſhes, he purſued his direct way; the King's Horſe ſtill retiring before him, till the Foot was compelled to raiſe the Siege, in more diſorder and diſtraction, than might have been expected; and ſo with leſs loſs, and eaſier Skirmiſhes, than can be imagined, the Earl, with his Army and Train, marched to *Gloceſter*; where he found them reduced to one ſingle Barrel of Powder; and all other Proviſions anſwerable. And it muſt be confeſſed, that Governor gave a ſtop to the Career of the King's good Succeſs, and from his pertinacious defence of that place, the Parliament had time to recover their broken Forces, and more broken Spirits; and may acknowledge to this riſe, the greatneſs to which they afterwards aſpired.

The Siege of
Gloceſter
 raiſed.

The Earl of *Effex* ſtayed in that joyful Town (where he was received with all poſſible demonſtrations of Honor) three days; and in that time, which was as wonderful as any part of the Story, cauſed all neceſſary Proviſions to be brought in to them, out of thoſe very Quarters in which the King's Army had been ſuſtained, and which they conceived to be entirely ſpent: So ſolicitous were the People to conceal what they had, and to reſerve it for Them; which, without a Connivance from the King's Commiſſaries, could not have been done. All this time, the King lay at *Sudley-Caſtle*, the Houſe of the Lord *Chandois*, within eight Miles of *Gloceſter*, watching when that
 Army

Army would return ; which, they conceived, stayed rather out of Despair than Election, in those eaten Quarters ; and, to open them a way for their Retreat his Majesty removed to *Esham*, hoping the Earl would chuse to go back the same way he came ; which, for many reasons, was to be desired ; and thereupon the Earl marched to *Tewkesbury*, as if he had no other purpose. The King's Horse, though bold, and vigorous upon Action, and Execution, were always less patient of Duty, and ill Accommodation than they should be ; and at this time, partly with weariness, and partly with the indisposition that possessed the whole Army upon this Relief of the Town, were less vigilant towards the motion of the Enemy : So that the Earl of *Essex* was marched with his whole Army and Train from *Tewkesbury*, four-and-twenty hours before the King heard which way he was gone : for he took the advantage of a dark night, and having sure Guides, reached *Cirencester*, before the breaking of the Day ; where he found two Regiments of the King's Horse quartered securely ; all which, by the negligence of the Officers (a common and fatal Crime throughout the War, on the King's part) he surpris'd ; to the number of above three hundred ; and which was of much greater value, he found there a great quantity of Provisions, prepared, by the King's Commissaries, for the Army before *Glocester*, and which they neglected to remove after the Siege was rais'd, and so most sottishly left it for the Relief of the Enemy, far more apprehensive of Hunger than of the Sword ; and indeed this wonderful supply strangely exalted

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The Earl of
Essex in his
return seizes
upon Cirencester.

B O O K VII. their Spirits, as sent by the special care and extraordinary hand of Providence, even when they were ready to faint.

From hence the Earl, having no farther apprehension of the King's Horse, which he had no mind to encounter upon the open Campaign, and being at the least twenty Miles before him, by easy marches, that his sick and wearied Soldiers might overtake him, moved, through that deep and enclosed County of North *Wiltshire*, his direct way to *London*. As soon as the King had sure notice which way the Enemy was gone, he endeavoured, by expedition and diligence, to recover the advantage, which the supine negligence of those he trusted, had robbed him of; and Himself, with matchless industry, taking care to lead up the Foot, Prince *Rupert*, with near five thousand Horse, marched Day and Night over the Hills, to get between *London* and the Enemy before they should be able to get out of those enclosed deep Countries, in which they were engaged between narrow Lanes, and to entertain them with Skirmishes till the whole Army should come up. This design, pursued and executed with indefatigable pains, succeeded to his wish; for when the Van of the Enemies Army had almost marched over *Awborne-Chase*, intending that Night to have reached *Newbury*, Prince *Rupert*, beyond their fear, or expectation, appeared with a strong Body of Horse so near them, that before they could put themselves in order to receive him, he Charged their Rear, and Routed them with good Execution; and though the Enemy performed the Parts of good Men, and applied themselves more

dexterously to the relief of each other, than on so sudden and unlooked for an occasion was expected, yet with some difficulty, and the loss of many Men, they were glad to shorten their Journey, and the Night coming on, took up their Quarters at *Hungerford*.

In this Conflict, which was very sharp for an hour or two, many fell of the Enemy, and of the King's Party none of Name, but the Marquis of *Vieu-Ville*, a Gallant Gentleman of the *French* Nation, who had attended the Queen out of *Holland*, and put himself as a Volunteer upon this Action, into the Lord *Jermyn's* Regiment. There were hurt many Officers, and among those the Lord *Jermyn* received a shot in his Arm with a Pistol, owing the preservation of his Life from other shots to the excellent temper of his Armour; and the Lord *Digby* a strange hurt in the face, a Pistol being discharged at so near a distance upon him, that the Powder fetched much blood from his face, and for the present blinded him, without farther mischief; by which it was concluded, that the Bullet had dropped out before the Pistol was discharged: And may be reckoned among one of those escapes, of which that Gallant Person hath passed a greater number, in the course of his Life, than any Man I know.

By this Expedition of Prince *Rupert*, the Enemy was forced to such delay, that the King came up with his Foot and Train, though his numbers, by his exceeding long and quick marches, and the Licence which many Officers and Soldiers took whilst the King lay at *Essex*, were much lessened, being

BOOK VII. above two thousand fewer, than when he raised his Siege from *Glocester*. And when the Earl, the next day, advanced from *Hungerford*, hoping to recover *Newbury*, which Prince *Rupert* with his Horse would not be able to hinder him from; when he came within two Miles of the Town, he found the King possessed of it. For his Majesty, with his whole Army, was come thither two hours before; this put him to a necessity of staying upon the Field that Night; it being now the seventeenth day of *September*.

It was now thought by many, that the King had recovered whatsoever had been lost by former Overights, Omissions, or Neglects, and that by the destroying the Army which had relieved *Glocester*, he should be fully recompensed for being disappointed of that purchase. He seemed to be possessed of all advantages to be desired, a good Town to refresh his Men in, whilst the Enemy lodged in the Field, his own Quarters to friend, and his Garrison of *Wallingford* at hand, and *Oxford* itself within distance for supply of whatsoever should be wanting; when the Enemy was equally tired with long marches, and from the time that the Prince had attacked them, the day before, had stood in their Arms in a Country where they could not find Victual. So that it was conceived, that it was in the King's power, whether he would fight or no, and therefore that he might compel them to notable disadvantages, who must make their way through, or starve; and this was so fully understood, that it was resolved over night, not to engage in Battle; but upon such grounds as should give an Assurance of Victory. But, contrary

to this resolution, when the Earl of *Essex* had, with excellent conduct, drawn out his Army in Battalia, upon a Hill called *Bigg's-Hill*, within less than a mile of the Town, and ordered his Men in all places to the best advantage, by the precipitate Courage of some young Officers, who had good Commands, and who unhappily always undervalued the Courage of the Enemy, strong Parties became successively so far engaged, that the King was compelled to put the whole to the hazard of a Battle, and to give the Enemy at least an equal game to play.

It was disputed, on all parts, with great Fierceness and Courage; the Enemy preserving good Order, and standing rather to keep the ground they were upon, than to get more; by which they did not expose themselves to those disadvantages, which any motion would have offered to the Assailants. The King's Horse, with a kind of contempt of the Enemy, Charged with wonderful boldness, upon all grounds of inequality; and were so far too hard for the Troops of the other side, that they Routed them in most places, till they had left the greatest part of their Foot without any guard at all of Horse. But then the Foot behaved themselves admirably on the Enemies part, and gave their scattered Horse time to Rally, and were ready to assist and secure them upon all occasions. The *London-Trained-bands*, and *Auxiliary Regiments* (of whose inexperience of danger; or any kind of Service, beyond the easy practice of their Postures in the Artillery-Garden, Men had till then too cheap an estimation) behaved themselves to wonder; and were, in truth, the preservation of

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The Battle of
Newbury.

B O O K that Army that day. For they stood as a Bulwark
VII. and Raampire to defend the rest; and when their
wings of Horse were scattered, and dispersed, kept
their ground so steadily, that, though Prince *Rupert*
himself led up the choice Horse to Charge them, and
endured their storm of small shot, he could make no
impression upon their stand of Pikes; but was forced
to wheel about: of so Sovereign benefit and use, is
that readiness, order, and dexterity in the use of
their Arms, which hath been so much neglected.
It was fought all that day without any such notable
turn, as that either Party could think they had much
the better. For though the King's Horse made the
Enemies often give ground, yet the Foot were so
immoveable, that little was gotten by the other;
and the first entrance into the Battle was so sudden
and without Order, that, during the whole day,
no use was made of the King's Cannon, though that
of the Enemy was placed so unhappily, that it did
very great execution upon the King's Party, both
Horse and Foot. The night parted them, when
nothing else could: and each Party had then time to
revolve the oversights of the day. The Enemy had
sared at least as well as they hoped for; and therefore,
in the morning early, they put themselves in order
of marching, having an obligation in necessity to
gain some place, in which they might eat and sleep.
On the King's side there was not that caution which
should have been the day before, and though the
Number of the slain was not so great, as, in so hot
a day, might have been looked for; yet very many
Officers and Gentlemen were hurt: so that they

rather chose to take advantage of the Enemies motion, than to Charge them again upon the old ground, from whence they had been, by order, called off the night before, when they had recovered a Post, the keeping of which would much have prejudiced the Adversary. The Earl of *Essex* finding his way open, pursued his main design of returning to *London*, and took that way by *Newbury*, which led towards *Reading*; which Prince *Rupert* observing, suffered him, without interruption or disturbance, to pass, till his whole Army was entered into the narrow Lanes; and then with a strong Party of Horse, and one thousand Musqueteers, followed his Rear with so good effect, that he put them into great disorder, and killed many, and took many Prisoners. However the Earl, with the gross of his Army, and all his Cannon, got safe into *Reading*; and, after a night or two spent there to refresh and rest his Men, he moved in a slow and orderly march to *London*, leaving *Reading* to the King's Forces; which was presently possessed by Sir *Jacob Ashley*, with three thousand Foot and five hundred Horse, and made again a Garrison for the King: his Majesty and Prince *Rupert*, with the remainder of the Army, retiring to *Oxford*, and leaving a Garrison under the Command of Colonel *Boys* in *Donnington-Castle* (a House of *John Packer's*, but more famous for having been the Seat of *Geoffery Chaucer*, within a mile of *Newbury*) to Command the great Road, through which the Western-Trade was driven to *London*.

The Earl of
Essex gets into
Reading;
thence, to
London.

At this time Sir *William Waller* was at *Windso*r, with above two thousand Horse, and as many Foot;

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as unconcerned for what might befall the Earl of *Essex*, as the Earl had formerly been on His behalf at *Roundway* Hill: otherwise, if he had advanced upon the King to *Newbury* (which was not above twenty miles) when the Earl was on the other side, the King had been in great danger of an utter Defeat; and the apprehension of this, was the reason, or was afterwards pretended to be, for the hasty engagement in Battle.

The Earl of *Essex* was received at *London*, with all imaginable demonstrations of Affection, and Reverence; Public, and Solemn Thanksgiving was appointed for his Victory; for such they made no scruple to declare it. Without doubt, the Action was performed by him with incomparable Conduct and Courage; in every part whereof, very much was to be imputed to his own Personal Virtue; and it may be well reckoned among the most Soldierly Actions of this unhappy War. For he did the business he undertook, and, after the Relief of *Glocester*, his next care was to retire with his Army to *London*; which, considering the length of the way, and the difficulties he was to contend with, he did with less loss than could be expected; on the other hand, the King was not without signs of a Victory. He had followed, and compelled the Enemy to Fight, by overtaking him, when he desired to avoid it. He had the spoil of the Field, and pursued the Enemy the next day after the Battle, and had a good execution upon them, without receiving any loss; and, which seemed to Crown the Work, fixed a Garrison again at *Reading*, and thereby straitened their

Quarters as much as they were in the beginning of the year; his own being enlarged by the almost entire Conquest of the West, and his Army much stronger, in Horse and Foot, than when he first took the Field. On which side soever the Marks and public Ensigns of Victory appeared most conspicuous, certain it is, that according to the unequal fate, that attended all Skirmishes and Conflicts with such an Adversary, the loss on the King's side was in Weight much more considerable, and penetrating; for whilst some obscure, unheard of Colonel or Officer, was missing on the Enemies side, and some Citizen's Wife bewailed the loss of her Husband, there were on the other, above twenty Officers of the Field, and Persons of Honor, and public Name, slain upon the place, and more of the same Quality hurt.

Here fell the Earl of *Sunderland*, a Lord of great Fortune, tender years (being not above three-and-twenty years of Age) and an early Judgment; who, having no Command in the Army, attended upon the King's Person, under the obligation of Honor; and putting himself that day in the King's Troop a Volunteer, before they came to Charge, was taken away by a Cannon-Bullet.

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The Earl of
Sunderland
slain in this
Battle.

This day also fell the Earl of *Carnarvon*, who, after he had Charged, and Routed a Body of the Enemies Horse, coming carelessly back by some of the scattered Troopers, was, by one of them who knew him, run through the Body with a Sword; of which he died within an hour. He was a Person, with whose great Parts and Virtue, the world was not

And the Earl
of Carnarvon;
his Character

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enough acquainted. Before the War, though his Education was adorned by Travel, and an exact observation of the manners of more Nations, than our Common- Travellers use to visit (for he had, after the view of *Spain*, *France*, and most parts of *Italy*, spent some time in *Turky*, and those Eastern Countries) he seemed to be wholly delighted with those looser Exercises of pleasure, hunting, hawking, and the like; in which the Nobility of that time too much delighted to excel. After the Troubles begun, having the Command of the first or second Regiment of Horse, that was raised for the King's Service, he wholly gave himself up to the Office and duty of a Soldier; no Man more diligently Obeying, or more dexterously Commanding; for he was not only of a very keen Courage in the exposing his Person, but an excellent Discerner and Pursuer of Advantage upon his Enemy. He had a mind and understanding very present in the Article of danger, which is a rare benefit in that profession. Those Infirmities, and that Licence, which he had formerly indulged to himself, he put off with severity, when others thought them excusable under the notion of a Soldier. He was a great lover of Justice, and practised it then most deliberately, when he had power to do wrong: and so strict in the observation of his word, and promise, as a Commander, that he could not be persuaded to stay in the West, when he found it not in his power to perform the Agreement he had made with *Dorchester*, and *Weymouth*. If he had lived, he would have proved a great Ornament to that pro-

feſſion, and an excellent Soldier, and by his death the King found a ſenſible weakneſs in his Army. B O O K VII.

But I muſt here take leave a little longer to diſ-continue this Narration: and if the celebrating the memory of eminent, and extraordinary Perſons, and transmitting their great Virtues, for the imitation of Poſterity, be one of the principal ends and duties of Hiſtory, it will not be thought impertinent, in this place, to remember a loſs which no time will ſuffer to be forgotten, and no ſucceſs or good fortune could repair. In this unhappy Battle, was ſlain the Lord Viſcount *Falkland*; a Perſon of ſuch prodigious parts of Learning and Knowledge, of that inimitable ſweetneſs and delight in Converſation, of ſo flowing and obliging a humanity and goodneſs to Mankind, and of that primitive ſimplicity and integrity of Life, that if there were no other brand upon this odious and accuſed Civil-War, than that ſingle loſs, it muſt be moſt infamous, and execrable to all Poſterity.

And the Lord Viſcount Falkland; his Character.

Turpe mori, poſt te, ſolo non poſſe dolore.

Before this Parliament, his condition of life was ſo happy that it was hardly capable of improvement. Before he came to be twenty years of Age, he was Maſter of a noble Fortune, which deſcended to him by the gift of a Grandfather, without paſſing through his Father or Mother, who were then both alive, and not well enough contented, to find themſelves paſſed by in the deſcent. His Education for ſome years had been in *Ireland*, where his Father was Lord Deputy; ſo that, when he returned into *England*, to

B O O K the possession of his Fortune, he was unintangled
VII. with any Acquaintance or Friends, which usually grow up by the custom of Conversation; and therefore was to make a pure Election of his Company; which he chose by other Rules than were prescribed to the young Nobility of that time. And it cannot be denied, though he admitted some few to his Friendship for the agreeableness of their Natures, and their undoubted Affection to him, that his familiarity and friendship, for the most part, was with Men of the most eminent and sublime Parts, and of untouched Reputation in point of Integrity; and such Men had a Title to his Bosom.

He was a great Cherisher of Wit, and Fancy, and good Parts, in any Man; and, if he found them clouded with Poverty or Want, a most liberal and bountiful Patron towards them, even above his Fortune; of which, in those administrations, he was such a Dispenser, as, if he had been trusted with it to such Uses, and if there had been the least of Vice in his expense, he might have been thought too prodigal. He was constant and pertinacious in whatsoever he resolved to do, and not to be wearied by any pains that were necessary to that end. And therefore having once resolved not to see *London*, which he loved above all places, till he had perfectly learned the Greek Tongue, he went to his own House in the Country, and pursued it with that indefatigable Industry, that it will not be believed in how short a time he was Master of it, and accurately read all the Greek Historians.

In this time, his House being within little more

than ten miles of *Oxford*, he contracted familiarity and friendship with the most polite and accurate Men of that University; who found such an immensity of Wit, and such a solidity of Judgment in him, so infinite a Fancy bound in by a most Logical ratiocination, such a vast knowledge, that he was not ignorant in any thing, yet such an excessive humility, as if he had known nothing, that they frequently resorted, and dwelt with him, as in a College situated in a purer Air; so that his House was a University in a less Volume; whither they came not so much for Repose as Study; and to examine and refine those grosser Propositions, which laziness and consent made current in vulgar Conversation.

Many attempts were made upon him by the instigation of his Mother (who was a Lady of another persuasion in Religion, and of a most Masculine understanding, allayed with the passion and infirmities of her own Sex) to pervert him in his Piety to the Church of *England*, and to reconcile him to that of *Rome*; which they prosecuted with the more confidence, because he declined no opportunity or occasion of conference with those of that Religion, whether Priests, or Laics; having diligently studied the controversies, and exactly read all, or the choicest of the Greek, and Latin Fathers, and having a Memory so stupendous, that he remembered, on all occasions, whatsoever he read. And he was so great an Enemy to that passion and uncharitableness, which he saw produced, by difference of opinion, in matters of Religion, that in all those disputations with Priests, and others of the Roman Church, he affected to

B O O K manifest all possible Civility to their Persons, and
VII. estimation of their Parts ; which made them retain still some hope of his reduction, even when they had given over offering farther reasons to him to that purpose. But this charity towards them was much lessened, and any correspondence with them quite declined when, by sinister Arts, they had corrupted his two younger Brothers , being both Children , and stolen them from his House, and transported them beyond Seas, and perverted his Sisters: upon which occasion he writ two large discourses against the principal positions of that Religion, with that sharpness of Style, and full Weight of Reason , that the Church is deprived of great Jewels in the concealment of them and that they are not published to the world.

He was superior to all those passions and affections, which attend Vulgar minds, and was guilty of no other ambition than of knowledge, and to be reputed a Lover of all good Men ; and that made him too much a contemner of those Arts , which must be indulged in the transactions of human Affairs. In the last short Parliament, he was a Burgess in the House of Commons; and , from the Debates which were there managed with all imaginable gravity and sobriety, he contracted such a reverence to Parliaments , that he thought it really impossible they could ever produce mischief or inconvenience to the Kingdom ; or that the Kingdom could be tolerably happy in the intermission of them. And from the unhappy and unseasonable dissolution of that Convention, he harboured, it may be, some jealousy and prejudice to the Court, towards which he was not Before immoderately in-

clined; his Father having wasted a full Fortune there, in those offices and employments by which other Men use to obtain a greater. He was chosen again this Parliament to serve in the same place, and, in the beginning of it, declared himself very sharply and severely against those exorbitances, which had been most grievous to the State; for he was so rigid an observer of established Laws and Rules, that he could not endure the least breach, or deviation from them; and thought no mischief so intolerable as the presumption of Ministers of State, to break positive Rules, for reasons of State; or Judges to transgress known Laws, upon the Title of Conveniency, or Necessity; which made him so severe against the Earl of *Strafford*, and the Lord *Finch*, contrary to his Natural gentleness, and temper: insomuch as they, who did not know his composition to be as free from Revenge, as it was from Pride, thought that the sharpness to the Former, might proceed from the Memory of some unkindnesses, not without a mixture of Injustice, from him towards his Father. But without doubt he was free from those temptations, and in both cases was only misled by the Authority of those, who, he believed, understood the Laws perfectly; of which, himself was utterly ignorant; and if the assumption, which was then scarce controverted, had been true, “that an Endeavour to overthrow the fundamental
“Laws of the Kingdom was Treason,” a strict understanding might make reasonable conclusions to satisfy his own judgment, from the exorbitant parts of their several Charges.

The great opinion he had of the uprightness, and

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integrity of those Persons who appeared most active, especially of Mr. *Hambden*, kept him longer from suspecting any design against the Peace of the Kingdom; and though he differed from them commonly in conclusions, he believed long their purposes were honest. When he grew better informed what was Law, and discerned in them a desire to control that Law by a Vote of one, or both Houses, no Man more opposed those attempts, and gave the adverse Party more trouble by reason and argumentation; inso-much as he was, by degrees, looked upon as an Advocate for the Court, to which he contributed so little, that he declined those addresses, and even those Invitations which he was obliged almost by civility to entertain. And he was so jealous of the least imagination that he should incline to Preferment, that he affected even a moroseness to the Court, and to the Courtiers; and left nothing undone which might prevent, and divert the King's or Queen's Favor towards him, but the deserving it. For when the King sent for him once or twice to speak with him, and to give him thanks for his excellent comportment in those Counsels, which his Majesty graciously termed "doing him Service," his Answers were more negligent, and less satisfactory, than might be expected; as if he cared only, that his Actions should be Just, not that they should be Acceptable, and that his Majesty should think that they proceeded only from the impulsion of Conscience, without any sympathy in his Affections; which, from a Stoical and Sullen Nature, might not have been misinterpreted; yet, from a Person of so perfect a habit of
generous,

generous, and obsequious compliance with all good Men, might very well have been interpreted by the King as more than an ordinary averfeness to his Service: fo that he took more pains, and more forced his Nature to Actions unagreeable, and unpleasant to it, that he might not be thought to incline to the Court, than most Men have done to procure an Office there. And if any thing but not doing his duty, could have kept him from receiving a Testimony of the King's Grace and Trust, at that time, he had not been called to his Council; not that he was in truth averfe from receiving public Employment; for he had a great devotion to the King's Person, and had before used some small endeavour to be recommended to him for a Foreign Negotiation, and had once a desire to be sent Ambaffador into *France*; but he abhorred an imagination or doubt should sink into the thoughts of any Man, that in the discharge of his trust and duty in Parliament, he had any bias to the Court, or that the King himself should apprehend, that he looked for a reward for being Honest.

For this reason, when he heard it first whispered, "that the King had a purpose to make him a Privy-Counsellor," for which there was, in the beginning no other ground, but because he was known sufficient (*haud semper errat fama, aliquando & eligit*) he resolved to decline it; and at last suffered himself only to be over ruled by the advice and persuasions of his Friends, to submit to it. Afterwards, when he found that the King intended to make him Secretary of State, he was positive to refuse it; declaring to his Friends, "that he was most unfit for it, and that he

BOOK VII. " must either do that which would be great disquiet
 " to his own Nature, or leave that undone which
 " was most necessary to be done by one that was
 " honored with that place; for the most just
 " and honest Men did, every day, that which he
 " could not give himself leave to do." And indeed he
 was so exact, and strict an Observer of Justice and
 Truth, that he believed those necessary condescen-
 sions and applications to the weakness of other Men,
 and those Arts and Insinuations which are necessary
 for discoveries, and prevention of ill, would be in
 Him a declension from his own rules of life; though he
 acknowledged them fit, and absolutely necessary to
 be practised in those employments. He was, in truth,
 so precise in the practice principles he prescribed Him-
 self (to all others he was as indulgent) as if he had
 lived in *Republica Platonis*, non in *face Romuli*.

Two reasons prevailed with him to receive the
 Seals, and but for those he had resolutely avoided
 them. The first, the consideration that his refusal
 might bring some blemish upon the King's Affairs,
 and that Men would have believed, that he had re-
 fused so great an Honor and Trust, because he must
 have been with it obliged to do somewhat else not
 justifiable. And this he made matter of Conscience,
 since he knew the King made choice of him, before
 other Men, especially because he thought him more
 honest than other Men. The other was, lest he might
 be thought to avoid it out of fear to do an ungracious
 thing to the House of Commons, who were sorely
 troubled at the displacing Sir *Harry Vane*, whom
 they looked upon as removed for having done them

those Offices they stood in need of; and the disdain of so popular an incumbrance wrought upon him next to the other. For as he had a full appetite of fame by just and generous Actions, so he had an equal contempt of it by any servile expedients: and he so much the more consented to, and approved the Justice upon Sir *Harry Vane*, in his own private judgment, by how much he surpassed most Men in the Religious observation of a Trust; the violation whereof he would not admit of any excuse for.

For these reasons, he submitted to the King's Command, and became his Secretary, with as humble and devoted an acknowledgment of the greatness of the obligation, as could be expressed, and as true a sense of it in his heart. Yet two things he could never bring himself to, whilst he continued in that Office, that was to his death; for which he was contended to be reproached, as for omissions in a most necessary part of his place. The one, employing of Spies, or giving any countenance, or entertainment to them. I do not mean such Emissaries, as with danger would venture to view the Enemies Camp, and bring Intelligence of their Number, or quartering, or any particulars that such an observation can comprehend; but those, who by communication of Guilt, or Dissimulation of manners, wind themselves into such Trusts and Secrets, as enable them to make discoveries. The other, the Liberty of opening Letters, upon a suspicion that they might contain matter of dangerous consequence. For the first, he would say, "such Instruments must
" be void of all Ingenuity, and common Honesty,

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* before they could be of use; and afterwards they
 * could never be fit to be credited: and that no
 * single preservation could be worth so general a
 * wound, and corruption of human society, as the
 * cherishing such Persons would carry with it." The
 last, he thought "such a violation of the Law of
 * Nature, that no qualification by Office could jus-
 * tify him in the trespass;" and though he was con-
 vinced by the necessity, and iniquity of the time,
 that those advantages of information were not to be
 declined, and were necessarily to be practised, he
 found means to put it off from himself; whilst he con-
 fessed he needed excuse and pardon for the omission;
 so unwilling he was to resign any part of good Na-
 ture to an obligation in his Office.

In all other particulars he filled his place with great
 sufficiency, being well versed in Languages, to un-
 derstand any that are used in business, and to make
 himself again understood. To speak of his Integrity,
 and his high disdain of any bait that might seem to
 look towards corruption, *in tanto viro, injuria virtu-
 tum fuerit.* Some sharp expressions he used against
 the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, and his concurring
 in the first Bill to take away the Votes of Bishops in
 the House of Peers, gave occasion to some to believe,
 and opportunity to others to conclude, and publish,
 "that he was no friend to the Church, and the estab-
 * lished Government of it;" and troubled his very
 Friends much, who were more confident of the con-
 trary, than prepared to Answer the Allegations.

The truth is, he had unhappily contracted some
 prejudice to the Arch-Bishop; and having observed

his Passion, when, it may be, multiplicity of business, or rather indisposition had possessed him, did with him less intangled and engaged in the business of the Court, or State: though, I speak it knowingly, he had a singular estimation and reverence of his great Learning, and confessed Integrity; and really thought his own letting himself loose to those expressions which implied a disesteem of the Arch-Bishop, or at least an acknowledgment of his Infirmities, would enable him to shelter him from part of the storm he saw raised for his destruction; which he abominated with his Soul.

The giving his consent to the first Bill for the displacing the Bishops, did proceed from two grounds: The first, his not understanding Then the Original of their Right and Suffrage there: the other, an opinion, that the combination against the whole Government of the Church by Bishops, was so violent and furious, that a less composition than the dispensing with their intermeddling in Secular Affairs, would not preserve the Order. And he was persuaded to this by the profession of many Persons of Honor, who declared, "they did desire the one, and would not then press the other;" which, in that particular, misled many Men. But when his observation and experience made him discern more of their Intentions, than he before suspected, with great frankness he opposed the second Bill that was preferred for that purpose; and had, without scruple, the order itself in perfect reverence; and thought too great Encouragement could not possibly be given to Learning, nor too great Rewards to Learned Men.

o o r He was never, in the least degree, swayed or moved
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He had a Courage of the most clear and keen temper, and so far from fear, that he seemed not without some Appetite of danger; and therefore, upon any occasion of Action, he always engaged his Person in those Troops which he thought, by the forwardness of the Commanders, to be most like to be farthest engaged; and in all such Encounters, he had about him an extraordinary cheerfulness, without at all affecting the execution that usually attended them; in which he took no delight, but took pains to prevent it, where it was not, by resistance, made necessary: inasmuch that at *Edge-hill*, when the Enemy was Routed, he was like to have incurred great Peril, by interposing to save those who had thrown away their Arms, and against whom, it may be, others were more fierce for their having thrown them away: so that a Man might think, he came into the Field chiefly out of Curiosity to see the face of Danger, and Charity to prevent the shedding of Blood. Yet in his natural inclination he acknowledged he was addicted to the profession of a Soldier; and shortly after he came to his Fortune, before he was of Age, he went into the Low-Countries, with a resolution of procuring Command, and to give himself up to it; from which he was diverted by the complete inactivity of that Summer: So he returned into *England*, and shortly after entered upon that

vehement course of Study we mentioned before, till the first Alarm from the North; then again he made ready for the Field, and though he received some repulse in the Command of a Troop of Horse, of which he had a promise, he went a Volunteer with the Earl of *Essex*.

From the Entrance into this unnatural War, his natural cheerfulness and vivacity grew clouded, and a kind of sadness, and dejection of Spirit stole upon him, which he had never been used to: yet being one of those who believed that one Battle would end all differences, and that there would be so great a Victory on one Side, that the Other would be compelled to submit to any conditions from the Victor (which supposition and conclusion generally sunk into the minds of most Men, and prevented the looking after many advantages that might then have been laid hold of) he resisted those indispositions, & *in luctu, bellum inter remedia erat*. But after the King's return from *Brentford*, and the furious resolution of the two Houses not to admit any Treaty for Peace, those indispositions, which had before touched him, grew into a perfect habit of uncheerfulness; and He, who had been so exactly easy, and affable to all Men, that his face and countenance was always present, and vacant to his Company, and held any cloudiness, and less pleasantness of the visage, a kind of rudeness or incivility, became, on a sudden, less communicable; and thence, very sad, pale, and exceedingly affected with the Spleen. In his Clothes and Habit, which he had minded before always with more neatness, and industry, and expense, than is

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usual to so great a Soul, he was not now only incurious, but too negligent; and in his reception of Suitors, and the necessary, or casual Addressees to his place, so quick, and sharp, and severe, that there wanted not some Men (strangers to his nature and disposition) who believed him proud and imperious; from which no mortal Man was ever more free.

It is true, that as he was of a most incomparable gentleness, application, and even submission to good, and worthy, and entire Men, so he was naturally (which could not but be more evident in his Place, which objected him to another conversation, and intermixture, than his own election would have done) *adversus malos injucundus*; and was so ill a dissembler of his dislike, and disinclination to ill Men, that it was not possible for Such not to discern it. There was once, in the House of Commons, such a declared acceptance of the good Service an eminent Member had done to Them, and, as they said, to the whole Kingdom, that it was moved, he being present, "that the Speaker might, in the name of the whole House, give him thanks; and then, that every Member might, as a testimony of his particular acknowledgment, stir or move his hat towards him;" the which (though not ordered) when very many did, the Lord *Falkland* (who believed the Service itself not to be of that moment, and that an honorable and generous Person could not have stooped to it for any recompence) instead of moving his hat, stretched both his Arms out, and clasped his hands together upon the Crown of his hat, and held it close down to his head; that all Men

might see, how odious that flattery was to him, and the very approbation of the Person, though at that time most popular. B O O K
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When there was any Overture, or hope of Peace, he would be more erect, and vigorous, and exceedingly solicitous to press any thing which he thought might promote it; and sitting among his Friends, often after a deep silence, and frequent sighs, would, with a shrill and sad accent, ingeminate the word *Peace, Peace*; and would passionately profess, "that the very agony of the War, and the view of the calamities and desolation the Kingdom did, and must endure, took his sleep from him, and would shortly break his heart." This made some think, or pretend to think, "that he was so much enamoured of Peace, that he would have been glad the King should have bought it at any price," which was a most unreasonable Calumny. As if a Man that was himself the most punctual, and precise in every circumstance that might reflect upon Conscience, or Honor, could have wished the King to have committed a trespass against either. And yet this senseless scandal made some impression upon him, or at least he used it for an excuse of the daringness of his Spirit; for at the Leaguer before *Glocester*, when his Friend passionately reprehended him for exposing his Person unnecessarily to danger (for he delighted to visit the Trenches, and nearest approaches, and to discover what the Enemy did) as being so much beside the duty of his place, that it might be understood rather to be against it, he would say merrily, "that his Office could not take

B O O K “ away the Privilege of his Age; and that a Secre-
 VII. “ tary in War might be present at the greatest secret
 “ of danger;” but withal alledged seriously, “ that
 “ it concerned Him to be more active in enterprises
 “ of hazard, than other Men; that all might see,
 “ that his impatience for Peace proceeded not
 “ from pusillanimity, or fear to adventure his own
 “ Person.”

In the morning before the Battle, as always upon Action, he was very cheerful, and put himself into the first rank of the Lord *Byron's* Regiment, then advancing upon the Enemy, who had lined the Hedges on both sides with Musqueteers; from whence he was shot with a Musquet in the lower part of the Belly, and in the instant falling from his Horse, his Body was not found till the next morning; till when, there was some hope he might have been a Prisoner; though his nearest Friends, who knew his temper, received small comfort from that imagination. Thus fell that incomparable young Man, in the four-and-thirtieth year of his Age, having so much despatched the true business of life, that the Eldest rarely attain to that immense Knowledge, and the Youngest enter not into the world with more Innocency: Whosoever leads such a life needs be the less anxious upon how short warning it is taken from him.

The Earl of
 Essex returns
 to London.

Now to go on with the Course of our History: the Earl of *Essex* entered into *London* on the 25th of *September* (a day we shall have occasion to remember upon another solemnity) and was the next day visited, at *Essex-House*, by the Speaker and the whole House of Commons, who declared to him, “ that they

“ came to congratulate his notable success, and to
“ render the thanks of the Kingdom to him, for his
“ incomparable Conduct and Courage; and that
“ they had caused their acknowledgment to be en-
“ tered in their Journal - Book, as a monument and
“ record of His Virtue, and Their gratitude.” A day
or two after, solemn Thanks were rendered to those
Members of both Houses who had Command in the
Army, and some extraordinary signification of res-
pect derived to the Superior Officers, throughout
the Army. A gaudy Letter of kindness and value,
was sent to Colonel *Massy*, and, which made the
Letter of more Value, a thousand pounds was sent
him as a gratuity or present for his Service, over
and above what was due to him for his Pay, and some
largess to all the Inferior Officers, and a Month’s
Pay, over and above their Arrears, to the Soldiers
of that Garrison.

Left the discourse and apprehension of the jealousy
between the Earl of *Essex*, and Sir *William Waller*,
might administer hope or suspicion, that some divi-
sion might grow amongst themselves, and, from
thence, that the King might receive any Advantage,
great care was taken to make, and greater to publish,
a reconciliation between them; in which, Sir *Wil-*
liam was all submission and humility, and his Excel-
lence full of grace and courtesy. The Passion and
Animosity which difference of opinion had produced
between any Members, was totally laid aside and
forgotten, and no artifice omitted to make the world
believe, that they were a People newly incorporated,
and as firmly united to one and the same end, as their

B O O K Brethren the *Scots*; of whose concurrence and assistance they were now assured, and satisfied that it would come soon enough for their preservation; of which, they had not before a full confidence.

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Though the King's Army had all the Trophies of Victory in, and after this Battle, as is before related (It kept the Field, and had the spoil of it; It took some Pieces of the Enemies Cannon, who marched off in the Night, and were pursued with some considerable loss beyond *Reading*, where a Garrison was again placed for his Majesty, under the Command of Sir *Jacob Ashley*, Major-General of the Army, an excellent Officer; so that the Parliament was in so much a worse State than they were in the Spring, as the loss of *Bristol*, and most of the West amounted to; for by this time *Exeter* was likewise reduced by Prince *Maurice*) yet, notwithstanding all this, the Earl of *Essex*, as is said before, was received at *London* with all imaginable Gratulation and Triumph; he had done all that was expected from him, with many circumstances of great, Soldierly, and notable Courage, and the heart and Spirit of the Parliament was visibly much exalted, and their impatience for Peace quite abated.

The Temper
of the Army,
and the Court
at Oxford,
upon the
return of the
King thither

On the contrary, upon the King's return to *Oxford*, there appeared nothing but dejection of mind, discontent, and secret Mutiny in the Army, Anger and Jealousy among the Officers, every one accusing another of want of Courage and Conduct in the Actions of the Field; and they who were not of the Army, blaming them all for their several failings and gross oversights. The Siege of *Glocester* was not

believed to have been well Conducted, and that it might have been taken in half the time they were before it, if it had been skilfully gone about. The not engaging the Earl of *Essex* in all the march over so open a Country. was thought unexcusable. and was imputed to the want of Courage in *Wilmot*; whom Prince *Rupert* did in no degree favor: nor was the Prince himself without some reproaches, for suffering the Earl of *Essex*, after all the Horse was joined, to march down a long steep Hill into the Vale of *Glocester*, without any disturbance; and that the whole Army, when it was found necessary to quit the Siege, had not been brought to Fight in that Vale, and at some distance from the Town, when the King's Men were fresh, and the other Side tired with so long a March.

But then all Men renewed their Execrations against those who advised the sitting down before *Glocester*; the Officers, who had been present, and consenting to all the Counsels, disclaiming, as much as any, the whole design; and all conspired to lay the whole reproach upon the Master of the Rolls, who spoke most in those Debates, and was not at all gracious to the Soldiers: and this Clamor against that Engagement was so Popular and Universal, that no Man took upon himself to speak in Defence of it; though, besides the Reasons which have been formerly alledged for it, what happened in this last Action, in the Relief of *Glocester*, might well seem to justify it; for since it appeared, that the City was so much United to the Parliament, that it supplied their Army with such a Body of their Trained-bands (without which

B O O K VII. it could never have marched) with what success could his Majesty have approached *London*, after the taking of *Bristol*, with his harassed Army? and would not the whole Body of the Trained-bands have defended That, when so considerable a part of them could be persuaded to undertake a March of two hundred Miles? for less they did not March, from the time they went out, to that in which they returned. But no reason could ever Convert those, who looked upon that Undertaking at *Glocester*, as the ruin of the King's Affairs.

The Temper of the Court was no better than that of the Army: and the King was so much troubled with both, that he did not enjoy the quiet his Condition required. They who had forborne to be importunate for Honors, or Offices, because they knew they should not be able to obtain their desires from the King, made their Modesty an argument of their Merit to the Queen, and assured Her, "that they had forborne to ask any thing in Her absence, " because they had always resolved never to receive " any thing, but by Her bounty:" Many pretended former promises and engagements for Creations of Honor, as soon as any thing should be done of that kind. And it is true enough, that both their Majesties had given themselves ease from present importunities, by making promises, with reference to a time, which they imagined, and, at that time, resolved should not be soon: and now there was no sooner mention of conferring Honor upon one or two whom they had a mind to gratify, but the rest who had that promise, were very importunate and cla-

morous for the same Justice. By this means they were, upon the matter, compelled to gratify some Men to whom they bore no good will; and so, they who received the favors were no more pleased, than they were who conferred them; and they who were without Ambition before, when they saw Honors and Offices conferred upon Men, who, they thought did not merit them better than themselves, thought their Service undervalued if they did not receive the same reward. And it was a usual Prologue to suits of that kind, "that they did not desire it out of their own Ambition, but purely to satisfy their Friends; who withdrew their kindness from them, out of an opinion that they had offended the King, who would not otherwise put so great a difference between Them and other Men." Whence it may be observed, that Princes should not confer Public Rewards in a season when they can only gratify a Few, and so Many stand upon the same level in pretences, that they are apt to resent the preferring of One, as an Affront and disobligation to the Rest.

There was no particular that gave the King more inquietness, than the pretence of my Lord of *Holland*. The three Earls I before mentioned, had attended the King before he rose from *Glocester*, and had waited upon him throughout that march, and had Charged the Enemy, in the King's Regiment of Horse, at the Battle of *Newbury*, very bravely; and had behaved themselves, throughout, very well; and returned to *Oxford* with his Majesty; and now expected to be well looked upon: and the other Two had no cause to complain; the King, upon

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B O O K all occasions, spoke very graciously to them, and
VII. particularly sent the Chancellor of the Exchequer to the Earl of *Clare*, "that he had liberty, and might be present at the Councils of War;" where the Peers usually were, and where the general matters of contribution, and such things as concerned the Country, were usually debated. But the Earl of *Holland* was not pleased; he thought nothing of former Miscarriages ought to be remembered; that all those were cancelled by the Merit of coming to the King now, and bringing such considerable Persons with him, and disposing others to follow; and expected, upon his first appearance, to have had his Key restored to him; to have been in the same condition he was in the Bed-Chamber, and in the Council, and in the King's Grace and Countenance; of all which he had assurance from the Queen before he came, at least from Mr. *Jermyn*, who, no doubt, did exceed his Commission; and the very deferring of this, was grievous to him; and the more, because he found the same disrespect from all others, as he had done when he came first to *Oxford*.

He came frequently in the afternoon to *Merton-College*; where the Queen lay, and where the King was for the most part at that time of the day, and both their Majesties looked well upon him, and spoke to him in public as occasion was administered. Sometimes the King went aside with him to the Window, in the same Room, where they spoke a quarter or half an hour together, out of the hearing of any body; which the Queen did often in the same manner; and Mr. *Jermyn*, who was about this time made a Baron,

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was very frequently with him. The King was always upon his guard towards him, and did not, in truth, abate any thing of his former rigor or prejudice, and continued firm to his former resolutions. But the Queen, whether from her inclination, or promise, or dislike of most other People, who were not so good Courtiers (as sure none was equal to Him in that function and mystery) did in truth heartily desire, that he might receive satisfaction in all things, according to his own desire; and would have trusted him Himself as much as formerly. Yet she complied so far with the King's aversion, that she yet forbore to press it, or to own the encouragement she had given him; nor had she a willingness to oppose so great a torrent of prejudice, as she saw evidently run against him; so that she appeared not to wish what without doubt she would have been very glad of. However the Marquis of *Hertford* was now come to *Oxford*, and expected the performance of the King's promise to him, and to be admitted into the Office of Groom of the Stole, of which the King took not the least notice to him since his return; which made it the more suspected, that the intention was to re-admit the old Officer; and this apprehension was confirmed by the Queen's looking less graciously upon the Marquis, than she had used to do. And it is true, though it may be she did not intend to make any such discovery by her looks, she was not pleased that any such promise was made, both because it was without Her Consent, and as it crossed what she designed; and much desired that the Marquis could have been persuaded to have released it; towards which the

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Lord *Fermyn*, with some passion, spoke to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, "how unreasonable a thing it was for the Marquis, who was Master of so great a Fortune," to affect such a low preferment (as he termed it) "and how generous a thing it would be to quit his pretence:" but he quickly discovered him not to be willing to engage in any such Proposition. All this wonderfully indisposed the other Lords, and the Persons of Quality in the Town, who did not wish to see the Court just filled as it had been, or the Queen Herself possessed of so absolute a power as she had been formerly; though they looked upon her Person with all Duty and Reverence.

The Earl of *Holland* did not act his own part with that art and dexterity, which might have been expected from his cunning and experience; nor had ever made the least Apology to the King for any thing he had formerly done; nor appeared to have the least sense that he had committed any error, as his Majesty himself declared to those, who he knew were his Friends; and said, "that he behaved himself with the same Confidence, and Assurance, as he had done when he was most in his favor; and that he retained still the old Artifice at Court, to be seen to whisper in the King's and Queen's ear, by which People thought there was some secret, when the matter of those whispers was nothing but what might be said in the open Court; and that the Earl of *Holland* had several times seemed to desire to say somewhat in private to him, upon which he had withdrawn from the Company to the end or corner of the Room, and, at first,

“ expected and apprehended, that he would say
 “ somewhat in his own excuse; but that he had
 “ never then said one word, but what he might
 “ have spoke in the Circle ;” with which, the King
 said, “ he was the better pleased; and that he be-
 “ lieved . he had not been more particular in his
 “ discourse with the Queen, save that he used to
 “ entertain Her with the wisdom and power of the
 “ Parliament, and what great things they would be
 “ able to do, and how much they were respected
 “ in Foreign Parts; which, his Majesty said, was
 “ a strange discourse for a Man to make, who had
 “ so lately left them, because he thought the King’s
 “ condition to be the better of the two.”

The Earl had a Friend who did heartily desire to
 do him all the Offices, and Services, that would
 consist with the King’s Honor, and always appre-
 hended the ill consequence of discouraging such con-
 versions, and who spoke often to the Earl of his
 own Affairs. And when he complained of his usage,
 and repeated, what promises and encouragement he
 had received to come to the King, and of what im-
 portance his good reception would have been, “ that
 “ there were many of considerable Reputation, and
 “ Interest in the House of Commons (whom he
 named) * who intended to have followed ; and that
 “ the Earl of *Northumberland* expected only His
 “ Advice;” his Friend asked him, “ whether he
 “ had done all things, since he came to the King,
 “ which might reasonably be expected from him ?”
 He said, “ he thought he had done all could be ex-
 “ pected from him, in bringing himself to the King;

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“ and , since his coming to him , in venturing his
 “ life for him ; and in lieu thereof he had not received
 “ Thanks , or one gracious word ; and now , after
 “ his Office had been kept unbestowed near two
 “ years , and a promise made to him , that he should
 “ be restored to it , it was to be bestowed upon
 “ another , to make his disgrace the more notorious ;
 “ which he thought would not prove for his Ma-
 “ jesty’s Honor or Advantage.”

His Friend asked him , “ whether he had asked it
 “ of the King , or informed him of the promise that
 “ was made to him ?” He said “ he Had done neither ,
 “ nor ever Would ; he expected it of the King’s
 “ Grace , and would not extort it by a promise , which ,
 “ it might be , his Majesty was not privy to.” The
 other replied very plainly to him , “ that if he thought
 “ he had never committed any fault against the King ,
 “ he had no reason to acknowledge it , or make ex-
 “ cuse for it ; but if he were conscious of any such ,
 “ how unwarily soever it had been done , or how
 “ unmaliciously soever it had been intended , he
 “ ought to make some confession , and apology to
 “ his Majesty ; nor could his Majesty , with the safety
 “ of his Honor , avow the receiving him into any
 “ trust without it ; nor was he capable of receiving
 “ any Offices from his Friends , or the Queen’s own
 “ declared interposition on his behalf , till he had per-
 “ formed that necessary Introduction. He told him ,
 “ if he would follow His advice , he believed he
 “ might receive some effect of it , which was , “ that
 “ he should send to desire a private Audience of his
 “ Majesty in some Room , where no body might be

“ present; which would not be refused him; and then
 “ he should (with all the excuses upon the terror the
 “ Parliament gave to all Men, who had exceeded
 “ the common Rules, in their Administration of
 “ the trust they had from his Majesty; as he could
 “ not deny He had done in many particulars for the
 “ advancement of his Majesty’s Service) confess, that
 “ he had not been hardy enough to contemn that
 “ power, but had been so much in awe of it, that
 “ he chose rather to presume upon his Majesty’s
 “ goodness, than to provoke Their jealousy and
 “ displeasure; and so had complied with them more,
 “ than in his duty and gratitude to his Majesty he
 “ ought to have done; for which he begged his
 “ pardon upon his knees; and if he might obtain it,
 “ he made no doubt, he should wipe out the memory
 “ of past Offences by some new Services, which
 “ should be beneficial to his Majesty;” and he added,
 “ that he would do very well, if he would sue out
 “ his pardon, as the Earl of *Bedford* had done; who
 “ had asked it of the King when he first kissed his
 “ hand, and since, wisely taken it out under the Great
 “ Seal of *England*.

The Earl of *Holland* seemed not all pleased with
 this advice; said, “ he did not think, though he
 “ would not justify all that he had done, his trans-
 “ gressions were of that magnitude, that they requir-
 “ ed such a formality of asking Pardon; that His case
 “ was very different from that of the Earl of *Bedford*,
 “ who had been in Arms, and a General Officer in
 “ the Field against the King; whereas He had only
 “ sat in the Parliament, as lawfully he might do;

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“ and if he had failed in his attendance upon his Majesty, and otherwise deserved his displeasure, he had received so many marks of it before he deserved it, that might well transport a very faithful Servant into a discontent. That as soon as he found himself restored to any proportion of his Majesty’s grace and confidence, his own inclination would carry him to as humble Apologies, and as deep acknowledgments of all his transgressions, as could be expected from him, and such as he believed would reconcile the King’s goodness to him: but to make the first advance by such a kind of submission, he did not think he could prevail over himself to do it.” However, he took his advice very kindly, and spoke often with him after upon the same Subject.

Being, upon conference with some other Friends, advised the same, especially by his Daughter (whom he loved and esteemed exceedingly) he seemed resolved to do it; but whether he thought worse of the King’s Affairs, or liked the Court the less, because he saw the poverty of it, and that whatever place or favor he might obtain, he could not expect a support from it to defray his expenses (nor could he draw it from any other place) he delayed it so long, that the King found it reasonable to confer the Office he had before promised upon the Marquis of *Hertford*.

Upon which he withdrew himself, for his convenience, to a Neighbour-Village, where he had a private Lodging; and, after few days, with the help of a dark Night and a good Guide, he got himself into the Enemies Quarters, and laid himself at the feet of the Parliament; which, after a short imprison-

The Earl of
Holland re-
turns into the
Parliament’s
Quarters.

ment, gave him leave to live in his own House, without farther considering him, than as a Man able to do little good or harm. And yet he did endeavour to render himself as grateful to them as he could, by an Act very unsuitable to his Honor, or his own generous Nature: for he published a Declaration in print of the cause of his going to, and returning from *Oxford*; in which, he endeavoured to make it believed, “ that his compassion, and love to his Country, had “ only prevailed with him to go to the King, in hope “ to have been able, upon the long knowledge his Majesty had of his fidelity, to persuade him to make a “ Peace with his Parliament; which, from the time “ of his coming thither, he had labored to do; but “ that he found the Court so indisposed to Peace, and “ that the Papists had so great a power there” (using many expressions dishonorable towards the King and his Council) “ that he resolved to make what haste “ he could back to the Parliament, and to spend the “ remainder of his life in Their Service:” which Action, so contrary to his own natural discretion and generosity, lost him the Affection of those few who had preserved some kindness for him, and got him credit with no body; and may teach all Men how dangerous it is to step aside out of the path of Innocence, and Virtue, upon any presumption to be able to get into it again; since such Men usually satisfy themselves in doing any thing to mend the present exigent they are in, rather than think of returning to that condition of Innocence from whence they departed with a purpose, perhaps, of returning.

However, this unhappy ill carriage of the Earl,

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doth not absolve the Court from oversight in treating him no better; which was a great error; and made the King, and all those about him, looked upon as implacable; and so diverted all Men from farther thoughts of returning to their Duty by such application, and made those who abhorred the War, and the violent Counsels in the carrying it on, chuse rather to acquiesce, and expect a Conjuncture when a general Peace might be made, than to expose themselves by unseasonable, and unwelcome Addresses. The Earl of *Northumberland*, who was gone to *Petworth*, as is said before, with a purpose of going to the King, If by the Lord *Conway's* Negotiation, and the Earl of *Holland's* reception, he found encouragement, returned to the Parliament; where he was received with great respect; all Men concluding, that he had never intended to do, what he had Not done. And the other Members who had entertained the same resolutions, changed their minds with him, and returned to their former Station: and the two Earls who yet remained at *Oxford*, shortly after found means to make their Peace at *Westminster*; and returned again to their own Habitation in *London*, without a farther mark of displeasure, than a restraint, for a time, from coming to the House of Peers, or being trusted in their Counsels.

And likewise
the Earls of
Bedford and
Gloucester.

The Trans-
action of the
Committee of
the two
Houses in
Scotland

The Committee from the two Houses of Parliament, which was sent into *Scotland* in *July* before, in the distraction of their Affairs, when Sir *William Waller* was defeated, and the Earl of *Essex's* Army unserviceable, as is remembered, found that Kingdom in so good and ready a posture for their recep-

tion, that they had called an Assembly of their Kirk, and a Convention of their Estates, Without, and expressly Against, the King's Consent; and without any color of Law, for the time, when, by their late Act of Parliament, they might of right challenge those meetings, was not come by almost a year; and the King had refused to Convene them sooner. That Kingdom was at Unity and Peace amongst themselves, and so at the more leisure to help their Neighbours; and the Government of all Affairs in Their hands who were to be Confided in; and They again ruled, and disposed by a few who were thoroughly engaged in the Counsels and Discomposures in *England*; for all those who were visibly affected to the King's Service, or disaffected eminently to the Persons in Authority there, were fled the Kingdom: and they who stayed behind, either had, or pretended to have, the same affections; of which a full declared Zeal, and good Will to the Parliament of *England*, was a common evidence.

So that the Committee found as good a Welcome, as they could wish, and all Men disposed to gain their good opinion: a Committee was appointed, both out of the Convention of Estates, and the Assembly, “to Treat with them, and to make such conclusions, as might be thought necessary to advance the Peace and Happiness of both Kingdoms.” These Men complied with them, in their full sense of the sad condition of the Affairs of *England*, and in their own concernment in the misfortunes, which should befall them: they said, “they well understood, how much the fate of *Scotland* was involved in what should befall the Parliament of *England*; and that if the King

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“ prevailed by force, and by the power of his Army,
“ oppressed those Friends, who had expressed a
“ tenderneſs formerly towards them, they had reason
“ to expect the ſame Army ſhould be applied to the
“ revenge of thoſe indignities they would eaſily per-
“ ſuade his Maſteſty, he had ſuffered from that his
“ Native Kingdom: and therefore, they needed no
“ Arguments to perſuade them, to commiſerate the
“ Eſtate of their Brethren of *England*; or to convince
“ them, that Their caſe was their own, and their
“ mutual ſafety bound up together; but that thoſe
“ Politic arguments and conſiderations, would have
“ no influence upon the People, who had ſuch a
“ natural Affection and Loyalty to their Sovereign,
“ as no Earthly conſideration would be able to pre-
“ vail with them to leſſen their Obedience towards
“ his Maſteſty; and that, albeit there was no viſible
“ Party and Faction, that appeared in the Kingdom
“ for the King, yet that there were many well
“ wiſhers to him, and maligners, in their hearts, of
“ the preſent Reformation; who, as ſoon as there
“ ſhould be any preparation for an Army to march
“ into *England*, would be ready, upon the ſpecious
“ Arguments of Duty to his Maſteſty, and of Peace
“ to their Country, and might be able, to give great
“ diſturbance to the expedition, or to diſquiet the
“ Realm, when the moſt eminently affected were
“ marched towards the relief of their diſtreſſed
“ Neighbours; except ſome obligation of Con-
“ ſcience were laid upon the People; who only pre-
“ ferred what they called their Piety to God, before

“ inclination to their Prince, and the setting up the Kingdom of Jesus Christ, before the vindication of a temporal jurisdiction.”

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For such an expedient therefore, they proposed, that a Covenant might be agreed upon between the two Kingdoms, for the utter extirpation of Prelacy, which that Kingdom was satisfied to be a great obstruction to the Reformation of Religion; and the two Houses of Parliament had discovered a sufficient aversion from that Government, by having passed a Bill for their utter abolition, and in the place thereof to erect such a Government, as should be most agreeable to God's Word, which they doubted not would be their own Presbytery; and that the People being cemented together by such an obligation, would never be severed and disjoined by any temptation.”

A Covenant
proposed by
the Scots
between the
two King-
doms, and
agreed to.

There was an easy consent, from the Committee of the *English*, to any expedient that might thoroughly engage the other Nation; and so a form of words were quickly agreed on between them, for a perfect combination and marriage between the Parliament and the *Scots*, in all such particulars, as were most like to be unacceptable to the King; and this form being presently communicated to the Convention of Estates, and the Assembly, as soon found an approbation and concurrence there, with as much solemnity, as was necessary to show their temper and resolution, and to gain the consent of the two Houses at *Westminster*, whither it was despatched with all imaginable celerity, and a signification “ that That People were in such a forwardness to advance,

BOOK VII. “ that they would be in *England* as soon as they
 “ could be reasonably expected.” And it was indeed
 apparent enough, that, upon their discipline since
 the late Commotions, and the cunning preface and
 foresight of that People, there was nothing requisite
 to their March, but the calling them together.

Many were of opinion, that this engagement was
 proposed “ rather to decline being engaged in the
 “ Quarrel, than out of hope or imagination that the
 “ two Houses would concur with them; for though
 “ there had been a Bill passed, before the last Treaty
 “ with the King, to that purpose, yet they well
 “ knew that most of the Peers, and Persons of Qua-
 “ lity and Interest in the other House, were willing
 “ to depart from that Overture. Besides, amongst
 “ those, who raged jointly against Episcopacy,
 “ there were so many opinions, that it would be no
 “ less difficult to establish Their Presbytery, than
 “ to root out the other Government, to which they
 “ intended by their Covenant equally to oblige them:
 “ so that upon this Proposition, which was accor-
 “ ding to the known temper of that Nation, they
 “ should preserve themselves plausibly, and without
 “ seeming to desert their Confederates, from bearing
 “ any part in the present Troubles. However, it
 “ would visibly take up so much time, that if there
 “ were no Ebb in the King’s prosperity and success,
 “ he might well finish his work, and this Interposi-
 “ tion be interpreted for a politic Stratagem to amuse
 “ the *English*.” But if this was their Stratagem, they
 met with People too frank-hearted, and not scrupu-
 lous to contribute towards it: for the draught of the

Covenant no sooner came to *Westminster*, but they showed a marvellous inclination to it. Yet as well because it was not yet known, what success the Earl of *Essex* would have in the relief of *Glocester*, which was like to have a shrewd influence upon Men's Affections and Consciences, as that they might seem to use all necessary deliberation, and caution, for the information of their Judgments in a new case, that concerned the Religion, and Ecclesiastical Fabric of the Kingdom, they transmitted it to their Assembly of Divines, to return Their opinion "of the lawfulness of taking it in point of Conscience."

The Assembly, besides that it was constituted of Members who had all renounced their Obedience to their King, and submission to the Church of *England*, by their appearance and presence in that Convention, had been lately taught how dangerous it was to dissent from the current opinion of the House of Commons: for Dr. *Featly* (upon whose Reputation in Learning, they had raised great advantages to themselves) having made many Speeches in the Assembly in the behalf of "the order of Bishops, and their Function, and against the Alienation of Church-Lands, as Sacrilege," and especially inveighed against "the liberty that was taken in matter of Religion, by which so many Sects were grown up to the scandal and reproach of the Protestant Doctrine, if not of Christianity itself," had so far incurred their displeasure, and provoked their jealousy, that an ordinary fellow (so well Confirmed in Spirit, that they feared not his failing or conversion) was directed to make application to him in

B O O K cases of Conscience, and after he had gotten sufficient credit with him (which was no hard matter)
VII. to intimate to him, “ that he had a sure and unquestionable conveyance to *Oxford*, or that he was to go thither himself, and if he had any occasions to use his Service thither, he would faithfully execute his Commands.” The Dr. believing the Messenger to be sincere, and the King’s Affairs standing then prosperous, gave him Letters for the Arch-Bishop of *Armagh*, Primate of *Ireland*, who waited on his Majesty; and by this Artifice, the same Instrument received two or three Letters from him, pretending they were still sent by infallible hands; and brought them always to those Persons by whom he was intrusted in the work of his imposture.

The Letters contained many Apologies for himself, “ for being engaged in such a Congregation, “ to which he submitted purely out of Conscience, “ and for the Service of the King and Church, in “ hope that he might be able to prevent many extravagancies, and to contain those unruly Spirits “ within some bounds of regularity, and moderation;” of his endeavours that way, he gave many instances; and sent Copies of what he had said in justification of Episcopacy, the Liturgy, and the established Government, and concluded with a desire to his Grace, “ to procure a good opinion from “ the King towards him, and some Bishopric or “ Deanry for his recompence.” About the time that this Agitation was in *Scotland*, and very little before this Covenant was transmitted, these Letters were produced, and a charge against that Doctor,

“ for betraying the trust reposed in him, and adhering to the Enemy ; ” and thereupon the poor Man was expelled the Assembly of Divines, both his Livings (for he had two within a very small distance of *London*) sequestered ; his Study of Books and Estate seized, and himself committed to a Common Goal, where he continued to his death ; which befel him the sooner, through the extreme wants he underwent ; so solicitous was that Party to remove any impediment that troubled them, and so implacable to any who were weary of their Journey, though they had accompanied them very far in their way.

This fresh example the *Assembly of Godly and Learned Divines*, had before their Eyes when this Covenant was sent to them for their consideration, and speedy resolution ; and according to the haste it required, that Clergy returned within two days their full approbation of it ; there having been but two Ministers who made any pause or scruple of it, and they again soon confessing “ they had received full satisfaction to their doubts in the Debate, and that they were fully convinced of the Lawfulness, and Piety of it. ” Having received so absolute an approbation and concurrence, and the Battle of *Newbury* being in that time likewise over (which cleared and removed more doubts, than the Assembly had done) it stuck very few hours with both Houses ; but being at once judged Convenient, and Lawful, the Lords and Commons, and their Assembly of Divines, met together at the Church, with great solemnity, to take it, on the five - and -

It is taken and
Subscribed by
the Lords and
Commons and

B O O K twentieth day of *September*; a double Holyday,

VII. by the Earl of *Essex's* return to *London*, and this
their Assembly Religious exercise.

of Divines,
Sept. 25.

There, two or three of their Divines went up into the Pulpit successively, not to Preach, but to Pray; others, according to their several Gifts, to make Orations upon the work of the day. They were by them told, "that this Oath was Such, and
" in the matter and consequence of it, of such
" concernment, as it was truly worthy of them,
" *Yea* of those Kingdoms, *Yea* of all the King-
" doms of the World: That it could be no
" other, but the result and answer of such prayers
" and tears, of such sincerity and sufferings,
" that three Kingdoms should be thus Born, or
" rather New born in a day: That they were
" entering upon a work of the greatest moment and
" concernment to themselves, and to their Posterities
" after them, that ever was undertaken by any of
" Them, or any of their fore-Fathers before them.
" That it was a duty of the first Commandment,
" and therefore of the highest and noblest order and
" rank of duties; therefore must come forth attended
" with choicest graces, fear, humility, and in the
" greatest simplicity, and plainness of Spirit, and
" respect of those with whom they Covenanted.
" That it was to advance the Kingdom of Christ
" here upon Earth, and make *Jerusalem* once more
" the praise of the whole Earth, notwithstanding
" all the contradictions of Men;" with many such
high expressions, as can hardly be conceived,
without

without the view of the Records, and Registry B O O K
that is kept of them. VII.

It will be here most necessary, that Posterity may be informed of the rare conclusion, in which two Nations, with such wonderful unanimity, did agree, and which was calculated also for the Meridian of a third Kingdom (for *Ireland* is likewise comprehended in it) to insert this League and Covenant in the precise terms in which it was received, and entered into; which was in these words.

A Solemn League and Covenant for Reformation, and Defence of Religion, the Honor and Happiness of the King; and the Peace and Safety of the three Kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland.

“ We Noblemen, Barons, Knights, Gentlemen, A Copy of the
“ Citizens, Burgesse, Ministers of the Gospel, Covenant.
“ and Commons of all Sorts in the Kingdoms of Eng-
“ land, Scotland, and Ireland, by the Providence
“ of God living under one King, and being of one
“ Reformed Religion, having before our Eyes the
“ Glory of God, and the advancement of the King-
“ dom of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, the
“ Honor and Happiness of the King’s Majesty, and
“ his Posterity, and the true public Liberty, Safety,
“ and Peace of the Kingdoms, wherein every one’s
“ private condition is included; and calling to mind
“ the treacherous, and bloody Plots, Conspiracies,
“ Attempts, and Practices of the Enemies of God,
“ against the true Religion, and Professors thereof,
“ in all places, especially in these three Kingdoms,
“ ever since the Reformation of Religion, and how

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“ much their Rage, Power, and Presumption, are
 “ of late, and at this time, increased and exercised
 “ (whereof the deplorable Estate of the Church and
 “ Kingdom of *Ireland*, the distressed Estate of the
 “ Church and Kingdom of *England*, and the dange-
 “ rous Estate of the Church and Kingdom of *Scot-*
 “ *land*, are present, and public Testimonies) We
 “ have now at last (after other means of Supplication,
 “ Remonstrance, Protestations, and Sufferings)
 “ for the preservation of our Selves and our Religion
 “ from utter ruin and destruction, according to the
 “ commendable practice of these Kingdoms in for-
 “ mer times, and the example of God’s People in
 “ other Nations, after mature deliberation, resolved,
 “ and determined to enter into a mutual, and solemn
 “ League and Covenant, wherein We all Subscribe
 “ and each one of Us for himself, with our hands
 “ lifted up to the most high God, do swear,

1. “ That We shall sincerely, really, and con-
 “ stantly, through the Grace of God, endeavour in
 “ our several places and callings the preservation of
 “ the Reformed Religion in the Church of *Scotland*,
 “ in Doctrine, Worship, Discipline, and Govern-
 “ ment, against our Common Enemies; the Refor-
 “ mation of Religion in the Kingdoms of *England*,
 “ and *Ireland*, in Doctrine, Worship, Discipline,
 “ and Government, according to the Word of God,
 “ and the example of the best Reformed Churches;
 “ and We shall endeavour to bring the Churches of
 “ God in the three Kingdoms, to the nearest Con-
 “ junction and Uniformity in Religion, Confession
 “ of Faith, Form of Church-Government, Direc-

“ tory for Worship, and Catechising; that we,
 “ and our Posterity after Us, may, as Brethren,
 “ live in faith and love, and the Lord may delight
 “ to dwell in the midst of Us.

2. “ That We shall, in like manner, without res-
 “ pect of Persons, endeavour the extirpation of
 “ Popery, Prelacy (that is Church-Government
 “ by Arch-Bishops, Bishops, their Chancellors,
 “ and Commissaries, Deans, Deans and Chapters,
 “ Arch-Deacons, and all other Ecclesiastical Officers
 “ depending on that Hierarchy) Superstition, He-
 “ resy, Schism, Prophaneness, and whatsoever
 “ shall be found to be contrary to sound Doctrine,
 “ and the power of Godliness; lest We partake in
 “ other Men’s Sins, and thereby be in danger to
 “ receive of Their Plagues; and that the Lord may
 “ be One, and his Name One in the three Kingdoms.

3. “ We shall, with the same sincerity, reality,
 “ and constancy, in our several Vocations, endea-
 “ vour with our Estates, and Lives, mutually to
 “ preserve the Rights and Privileges of the Parlia-
 “ ments, and the Liberties of the Kingdoms, and to
 “ preserve, and defend the King’s Majesty’s Person,
 “ and Authority, in the preservation and defence
 “ of the true Religion, and Liberties of the King-
 “ doms; that the World may bear Witness, with
 “ our Consciences, of our Loyalty; and that we
 “ have no thoughts or intentions to diminish his
 “ Majesty’s just power, and greatness.

4. “ We shall also, with all faithfulness, endeavour
 “ the discovery of all such as have been, or shall be
 “ Incendiaries, Malignants, or evil Instruments,

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“ by hindering the Reformation of Religion, dividing the King from his People, or one of the Kingdoms from another, or making any Factions or Parties among the People, contrary to this League and Covenant; that they may be brought to public Trial, and receive condign punishment, as the degree of their Offences shall require or deserve; or the supreme Judicatories of both Kingdoms respectively, or others having power from them for that effect, shall judge convenient.

5. “ And whereas the happiness of a blessed Peace between these Kingdoms, denied in former times to our Progenitors, is by the good Providence of God granted unto Us, and hath been lately concluded and settled by both Parliaments, we shall, each one of Us, according to our places and interest, endeavour, that they may remain conjoined in a firm Peace and Union to all Posterity, and that justice may be done upon the wilful Opposers thereof, in manner expressed in the precedent Articles.

6. “ We shall also, according to our places and callings, in this Common Cause of Religion, Liberty, and Peace of the Kingdoms, assist and defend all those that enter into this League and Covenant, in the maintaining and pursuing thereof; and shall not suffer ourselves, directly or indirectly, by whatsoever combination, persuasion, or terror, to be divided, and withdrawn from this blessed Union and Conjunction, whether to make defection to the contrary part, or to give ourselves to a detestable Indifference or Neutrality.

“ in this Cause, which so much concerneth the
“ Glory of God, the Good of the Kingdoms, and
“ the Honor of the King; but shall, all the days of
“ our lives, zealously and constantly continue there-
“ in, against all opposition, and promote the same
“ according to our power, against all Lets and Im-
“ pediments whatsoever. And what We are not able
“ ourselves to suppress, or overcome, We shall
“ reveal, and make known, that it may be timely
“ prevented or removed; all which We shall do as
“ in the sight of God.

“ And because these Kingdoms are guilty of many
“ Sins, and Provocations against God, and his
“ Son Jesus Christ, as is too manifest by our present
“ distresses and dangers, the fruits thereof; We
“ profess and declare, before God, and the world,
“ our unfeigned desire to be humbled for our own
“ Sins, and for the Sins of these Kingdoms; espe-
“ cially, that We have not, as we ought, valued
“ the inestimable benefit of the Gospel, that We
“ have not labored for the purity, and power there-
“ of; and that We have not endeavoured to receive
“ Christ in our hearts, nor to walk worthy of him in
“ our lives, which are the causes of other Sins and
“ Transgressions so much abounding amongst Us:
“ And our true, and unfeigned purpose, desire,
“ and endeavour for ourselves, and all others under
“ our power and charge, both in public and in pri-
“ vate, in all duties We owe to God and Man, to
“ amend our lives, and each one to go before another
“ in the example of a real Reformation; that the
“ Lord may turn away his wrath and heavy indigna-

BOOK VII. " tion, and establish these Churches and Kingdoms
 " in Truth and Peace. And this Covenant We make
 " in the presence of Almighty God, the searcher of
 " all hearts, with a true intention to perform the
 " same, as we shall Answer at that great day, when
 " the Secrets of all hearts shall be disclosed; most
 " humbly beseeching the Lord, to strengthen Us
 " by his holy Spirit, for this end; and to bless our
 " desires, and proceedings, with such success, as
 " may be a deliverance and safety to his People, and
 " encouragement to other Christian Churches,
 " groaning under, or in danger of the Yoke of Anti-
 " Christian Tyranny, to join in the same, or like
 " Association and Covenant, to the Glory of God,
 " the Enlargement of the Kingdom of Jesus Christ,
 " and the Peace, and Tranquillity of Christian
 " Kingdoms and Commonwealths.

As soon as this solemnity was over, which was concluded by Mr. *Henderfon* (the sole Ecclesiastical Commissioner from the Kingdom of *Scotland*) who magnified what they had done, and assured them
 " of great success after it, by the experience of that
 " Nation, who, from their Union in their first Co-
 " venant, found nothing hard they proposed to
 " themselves;" and told them, "that were that Cove-
 " nant now painted upon the Wall within the Pope's
 " Palace, it would doubtless put him into *Belshaz-*
 " *zar's* quaking condition; the Speaker and Com-
 " mons (having first set their hands to the Covenant,
 " after they had taken it) returned to their House,
 " and observing, that many of their Members were
 " that day absent, the cause whereof was easy to be

guessed, they ordered, "that, as soon as they came
 " into the House, the Covenant should be tendered
 " to them, and whosoever refused to take it, should
 " be proceeded against, as a disaffected Person, in
 " such manner as the House should think fit.

They farther made a special Order, "that all the
 " Ministers of Parish Churches within *London*, and
 " *Westminster*, the Suburbs, and the whole line of
 " Communication, should read and explain the
 " Covenant to their several Congregations, and stir
 " them up, the next Fast-day, to the cheerful taking
 " of it: and particular care was taken, that all the
 " Students of the Inns of Court should be persuaded
 " to receive it." But over and above these general
 directions, there was a particular ceremony, and
 application to recommend this Covenant to the City,
 and Corporation of *London*, and another use to be
 made of it. The Covenant was not only to bring,
 but to keep Men together; and the taking it had only
 inclined the *Scots* to march to their Assistance; they
 were to have one hundred thousand pounds Advanced
 to them, and paid at *Edinburgh*, before they
 could stir; and how to advance this great Sum, was
 not easy to resolve. All their Ordinances for levying
 of Money were expired; their Issues and Disburse-
 ments so vast, that no income was sufficient; their
 Exchequer was exhausted, and even their Public
 Faith Bankrupt: such Anticipations upon all kind
 of receipts, for Monies borrowed, and already spent
 that they had no Capital for future Security.

The Judicature of the House of Peers (though
 their Number was but ten, for there was no more at

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The Covenant
 ordered to be
 taken by
 others, espe-
 cially by the
 City.

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the Sentence of Justice *Berkeley*) had helped them all they could. Justice *Berkeley*, who had been committed by them to the Tower, shortly after the beginning of the Parliament, upon a Charge of High-Treason, and since the beginning of the War, permitted to sit as sole Judge in the King's Bench, one whole Term, was now brought to Judgment; and by their Lordships fined the Sum of twenty thousand pounds, and made incapable of any place of Judicature; and upon abatement of half, and his Liberty, he paid the other ten thousand pounds together, to those Persons they appointed to receive it; which, since all fines are due to the King alone, and cannot be disposed but by him, many thought a greater crime than that for which he was sentenced. Baron *Trevor*, who was fined for the same Offence, and suffered still to continue the same Office, in which he had committed his misdemeanour, yielded them as much more. But these petty Sums were disposed before they were received, and were but small drops to quench the great drought they sustained: so that the reputation and security of this Covenant, was, amongst other Uses, to bring in Money too.

To that purpose, a Committee of Lords and Commons, with some of their Divines of the Assembly, was sent to the *Guild-Hall*, where the Mayor had called a Common-Council for their reception, to recommend to them, “ the wonderful advantage and
“ strength their Party should gain by taking, and
“ being united in this Covenant, and the desperate
“ condition they were like to be in without it: If
“ the *Scots* came not to their Assistance, which,

“ without this obligation, they could not do, they
 “ were in danger to be overwhelmed by the Enemy;
 “ or at least to make a disadvantageous and disho-
 “ norable Peace with them; which yet they could
 “ not tell how it would be observed and kept. On
 “ the other hand by this famous accession of strength
 “ of a whole Nation, they should undoubtedly be
 “ able to master the War, and to make those who
 “ had been the Causers of it, defray the Charge;
 “ and so all the Public debts being discharged out of
 “ the Estates of Delinquents and Malignants, the
 “ Kingdom would not be at all impoverished, and
 “ the Peace, which should hereafter be made with
 “ the King, would be sure to be inviolably observed
 “ by the strength of this Union; and therefore that
 “ it could not be purchased at too dear a rate.

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“ It was,” they said, “ neither Covetousness, nor
 “ want of Affection, and Zeal to their Relief, that
 “ the *Scots*, who took Their Cause to heart as their
 “ own, desired an Advance of Money before they
 “ drew their Army into *England*, but pure Necessity,
 “ and the Poverty of that Kingdom, already ex-
 “ hausted by their late expeditions, and keeping their
 “ Soldiers together for the good of This. And if
 “ there had been Money enough in that Country to
 “ have been procured upon the public Stock and
 “ Revenue, or the Mortgage of private Estates, to
 “ which all Men were forward for the Public Good,
 “ their Love to their Brethren here was such, that
 “ they would neither have asked, nor received Mo-
 “ ney for their Assistance, after it had proved effec-
 “ tual; much less, before the yielding it. For Evi-

BOOK VII. " dence of which frank and Brotherly Inclination,
 " they freely offered the Engagement of their own
 " Estates, for the repayment of the Money that
 " should be advanced:" which was the first time,
 that ever Land in *Scotland* had been offered for security
 of Money borrowed in the City of *London*. In
 the end, they very devoutly extolled the Covenant,
 magnified the *Scottish* Nation, with all imaginable
 Attributes of Esteem and Reverence, " a Nation that
 " had engaged itself to God in a higher way, in a
 " more extraordinary way, than any Nation this day
 " upon the face of the Earth had done; a Nation,
 " that had reformed their lives for so small a time,
 " more than ever any People, that they knew of,
 " in the world had done; a Nation, that God had
 " honored by giving as glorious Success unto, as
 " ever he did unto any:" and very earnestly desired
 the Loan of a hundred thousand Pounds. The Rhetoric
 and the Zeal prevailed; and hundred thousand
 pounds was promised, and shortly provided,
 and sent to *Edinburgh*; and the Assurance of the
Scots coming so full, that they were looked upon as
 Masters of *New-Castle* already. With such an alacrity
 all these things were transacted.

That Violent Party in the Parliament, which never
 intended any Peace with the King, and had more
 desperate Mutations in their purposes, than they
 avowed, even amongst those who concurred with
 them in all they desired, did not think themselves
 secure in the Affection of the People, nor in those
 who had the greatest Trust in their Affairs. They
 had seen the great Changes in the Houses, in the

City, and in the Country, upon their late ill Successes, the Defeat of *Waller*, and the loss of *Bristol*: and though the Earl of *Essex* still adhered to them, yet they saw he was not pleased, nor favored one of those Men upon whom they most depended; but, on the contrary, all who were countenanced by Him, or in His confidence, were Men of such Principles as they liked not, or who desired no other Alterations, in the Court or Government, but only of the Persons who Acted in it: therefore they had taken an opportunity, in the greatest dejection of Spirit, and when they looked upon themselves as near swallowed up by the King's Power, to move “ that they might send into *Scotland* to their Brethren “ there, to join with them, and to assist them with “ an Army, that they might, by such a Conjunction, “ have a Support, to make them so considerable, “ as to be Treated with, and to receive Conditions “ which might preserve them from ruin:” which Proposition, being for so Common an Interest and Benefit, had received a General concurrence; and so that Committee of both Houses had been sent into *Scotland*, to put them in mind “ of their joint concernment, and how impossible it would be, for “ the *Scots* long to enjoy the great Concessions they “ had obtained from the King, when the Parliament “ of *England*; by whose Friendship, Power, and “ Authority they had obtained them, should be oppressed, and forced to yield to such Conditions for “ their particular preservation, as the King would “ think fit to give them.” But they were not a little startled, when they found this Message had obliged

B O O K them to a present expence of a hundred thousand
VII. pounds, before there was any visible Relief given them; and saw themselves involved in new obligations of Guilt, and to purposes they really never intended.

There hath been scarce any thing more wonderful throughout the Progress of these Distractions, than that this Covenant did with such extraordinary expedition, pass the two Houses, when all the Leading Persons in those Councils, were at the same time known to be as great Enemies to Presbytery (the Establishment whereof was the main end of this Covenant) as they were to the King or the Church. And He who contributed most to it, and, in truth, was the Principal Contriver of it, and the Man by whom the Committee in *Scotland* was entirely, and stupidly governed, Sir *Harry Vane* the Younger, was not afterwards more known to abhor the Covenant, and the Presbyterians, than he was at that very time known to do, and laughed at them then, as much as ever he did afterwards.

He was indeed a Man of extraordinary Parts, a pleasant Wit, a great Understanding, which pierced into, and discerned the purposes of other Men with wonderful Sagacity, whilst he had Himself *vultum clausum*, that no Man could make a guess of what he intended. He was of a Temper not to be moved, and of rare dissimulation, and could comply when it was not seasonable to contradict, without losing ground by the condescension; and if he were not superior to Mr. *Hambden*, he was inferior to no other Man, in all mysterious Artifices. There need no

more he said of his Ability, than that he was chosen to govern, and deceive a whole Nation which was thought to excel in craft and cunning: which he did with notable pregnancy and dexterity, and prevailed with a People, that could not otherwise be prevailed upon than by advancing their Idol Presbytery, to sacrifice their Peace, their Interest, and their Faith, to the erecting a Power and Authority that resolved to persecute Presbytery to an Extirpation; and, in process of time, very near brought their purpose to pass.

The Nation of *Scotland*, in general, had been so fully lashed in all that they could pretend to desire, that they were very well disposed to be Spectators of what was done in *England*, without engaging themselves in the Quarrel; and though there were some powerful Men amongst them, whose Guilt would not suffer them to believe that they could be otherwise secure, than by the King's want of Power to call them to Justice, yet their Number was not thought so great, as to be able to corrupt the People into a bare-faced Act of Rebellion: nor had they any such face of Authority, as to invite them to it. Without a Parliament, they could not propose it; the King had absolutely refused to call a Parliament, and it was yet above a Year to come, before a Parliament could be Assembled without the King's Consent; and in that time, the King might have the better of his Enemies. However, the Commissioners of the Parliament had not been long at *Edinburgh*, before they prevailed with the Council to call a Parliament; which Duke *Hamilton*, and others, who

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pretended great devotion to the King, and were of the Council, had promised the King to oppose, and said " they were powerful enough to prevent it." When it came to the point, Duke *Hamilton*, being one way or other, persuaded himself, persuaded others, " that the absolute refusal to suffer a Parliament to be called, would not quiet the Debate, nor secure the King, but more enflame those who desired it; who would take some other time, when many of them who opposed it should be absent, to propose it; and so would carry it: and that therefore they were better be absent at first, whereby the others might, without opposition, send out their Summons for a Parliament to Assemble, at the day they thought fit; and that, as they who would serve the King would not be there, so they should prevail with as many others as they could, not to be there likewise; whereby the number which appeared, would be so inconsiderable, that they would not dare to sit, but perfectly disperse; and this disappointment would for ever quash that design, and render those who advised it, odious to the People; as Men who desired illegally to engage the Nation in unjustifiable ways, to disturb the public Peace."

A Parliament
Summoned by
the Covenant-
ers in Scot-
land.

A Summons was accordingly sent out to call a Parliament, to meet at a day appointed; before which time, those of the Nobility and Gentry, who did really desire to serve the King, applied themselves to Duke *Hamilton* (whose advice and orders, the King himself had required them to observe; unhappily still believing him to be faithful) to know what they

should do: many of the principal of them declaring their opinions to him, “that they should take an opportunity to meet together, and bring their Friends with them, whereby they might make a good Body of Horſe, and ſo, with their Arms in their hands, they would declare againſt the Legality of that Parliament, and the meeting in it:” and named a fit opportunity to him for ſuch a meeting at the Funeral of a Lady, which was to be within ſome days, when, according to the cuſtom of that People, great Numbers of Perſons of Quality uſe to Aſſemble, to do Honor to the dead in the laſt obſequies. He told them, “he believed, it muſt come ſhortly to that remedy, but conceived it not yet time, and that ſuch a meeting would frighten the People, and increaſe the Number in Parliament, and make many reſort to them for their directions.” He likewiſe ſaid, “he had changed his former opinion, concerning their own being abſent at that time of the meeting of the Parliament, ſince their mere abſence would not be diſcountenance enough, and that they who ſat, would carry the Reputation of a Parliament, and the People would be guided by them, if there were nothing but their abſence to work upon their inclinations, and affections.”

He propoſed therefore to them, “that they would all reſolve to be preſent, and take their places; and that, when the Houſe ſhould be ſat, and any Man ſhould ſtand up to propoſe the taking any buſineſs into conſideration, [the Duke] would firſt make his Proteſtation againſt proceeding in ſo illegal a

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“ Convention, and then They should all make the
“ same Protestation; and he did hope, that the
“ Number of the Protesters would be great enough
“ to dissolve the meeting; and thus they should put
“ the best end to the matter that could be desired: but
“ if it should succeed otherwise, then would be the
“ time to withdraw and put themselves in Arms; to-
“ wards which he would make the best preparation
“ he could; and desired Them to do the like.” The
Earl of *Kinoul*, and some others, made exception
against this Expedient, and pressed the former meet-
ing at the Funeral, till the Duke told them, “ the
“ King liked the other way better;” and pulled a
Letter out of his Pocket, which he had received
from his Majesty, and read them so much of it, as
contained his Approbation, “ that they should meet
“ in the Parliament;” in which determination they
could not but acquiesce, though they thought at the
same time, that his Majesty was betrayed.

The Parliament met at the day; and Duke *Hamilton*, according to his promise, took an opportunity to say somewhat that seemed to imply a Protestation against the meeting; upon which, many of the Lords, who had been always most engaged against the King, were very warm; and demanded, “ that
“ he should declare himself clearly, whether he did
“ Protest against the Parliament;” whereupon his
Brother the Earl of *Lanrick*, who was Secretary of
State to the King, stood up and said, “ that he
“ hoped, that Noble Lord’s Affection to his Country
“ was better known, than that any Man could ima-
“ gine he would Protest against the Parliament of the
Kingdom;”

“ Kingdom;” and then the Duke explained, and excused himself; and said, “ he meant no such thing: “ and so they declared, they would Treat with the “ Commissioners, who were sent from the Parlia- “ ment of *England*,” and appointed Commissioners for that purpose.

Some are of opinion, that, even at this time, they did not intend to engage in the War against the King; but that, as a few Men cozened the Parliament at *Westminster*, by persuading them, “ that they desired “ only a Safe Peace, till, by multiplication of Indig- ties, they made it impossible to make of Peace that would appear safe; so there was as small a Number in *Scotland*, that over-reached the Parliament there, by persuading, “ that they never intended to do any “ thing against the King, but that it would be too “ ungrateful a thing, and render them very odious “ to the whole *English* Nation, if, after they had “ received so many obligations from the Parlia- “ ment there, to whose protection they owed their “ Religion, and all that they enjoyed, they should “ refuse so much as to Treat with them, and to assist “ them, by their interposition, to procure a good “ Peace for them with the King; which would be a “ great Honor to them; and would be as great an “ obligation to his Majesty, as to the Parliament.” That this was all that was in their thoughts; and that they would avoid any Engagement in a War, not by rejecting the Proposition, but by making such demands, as they knew well would never be accepted by the Parliament at *Westminster*. Thereupon they told the Commissioners from that Parliament, “ that it

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“ joint concurrence with them , against the King,
“ but by the Influence and Authority of their Kirk ;
“ and that it would be as impossible to procure the
“ Consent of their Kirk, except by making it evident
“ to them, that the Government of the Church in
“ *England*, should be reduced to the same model with
“ *Theirs in Scotland*; and that Episcopacy should be
“ totally extirpated ; and that Deans and Chapters,
“ should be utterly abolished ;” without which, they
said, “ they could never think their own Government
“ securely established ; but if such a promise might be
“ solemnly made , their Kirk would be thoroughly
“ engaged, and the Nation , to a Man , would enter
“ into the Quarrel.”

Sir *Harry Vane* was not surpris'd with the Proposition, which he had long foreseen, and came resolv'd to pay their own price for their Friendship. Thereupon , as hath been already said , the Covenant was prepared , and other Propositions made for the present furnishing a great Sum of Money , to enable them to begin their Levies ; and many other extravagant Conditions propos'd on the *Scottish* part, for the payment of the Army, and other vast expenses, that they did not believe the Commissioners would yield , or that the Parliament would perform, if they were yielded unto. Nothing of Money , or Honor , made any delay ; and they came provided with some Letters of Credit , that as little time might be lost as was possible in making all necessary preparations. The Covenant was the matter of Difficulty; they knowing well, that many of their greatest Friends, both in the

Parliament, and the Army, had not any mind to change the Government of the Church; to which the People of *England* were not generally disaffected.

Sir *Henry Vane* therefore (who equally hated Episcopacy and Presbytery, safe that he wished the one Abolished with much impatience, believing it much easier to keep the other from being Established, whatever they promised, than to be rid of that which was settled in the Kingdom) carefully considered the Covenant, and after he had altered, and changed many expressions in it, and made them doubtful enough to bear many interpretations, he, and his fellow-Commissioners, signed the whole Treaty; whereby it was provided, “ that the Covenant “ should be taken throughout all his Majesty’s Do- “ minions; that a Committee of the *Scots* should “ always sit with the Close Committee at *West- “ minster* for the carrying on of the War, with equal “ Authority; that there should be no Treaty of “ Peace with the King, without the joint consent “ of the Parliaments of both Kingdoms; ” and many other particulars, very derogatory to the Honor of the *English* Nation; and with all possible expedition sent it to the Close Committee at *Westminster*; in the time of their consternation, and before the relief of *Glocester*; which transmitted it presently back to them, allowed and confirmed.

And thereupon the Parliament at *Edinburgh*, resolved to raise a great Army, and to invade *Eng- land*; and their old General *Lesley*, who had so solemnly promised the King, not only “ never to bear “ Arms against him, but to Serve him, let the Cause

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The substance
of the Treaty
between the
English Com-
missioners and
the Scots.

The Scots
raise an Army
under Lesley.

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"be what it would," without any hesitation undertook the Command of it. All this time, Duke *Hamilton* looked on, and sometimes sat with them; and when the first Proclamation was prepared, in the King's Name, for a General Rendezvous of all Men, from such an Age to such an Age, at such a time and place, that so their Army might be presently formed, the Earl of *Lanrick* put the King's Signet, with the keeping whereof he was trusted, to the said Proclamation: and all this being done, both the Brothers left *Scotland*, to give the King an Account at *Oxford* of all the Proceedings: Many of the Nobility of that Kingdom, who did heartily wish well to the King, being gone from thence, after the first day's meeting of their Parliament (when the Duke had broken his promise to them) and informed his Majesty at large of that which They thought foul Infidelity.

Divisions
amongst the
Councils at
Oxford.

The Discomposures, Jealousies, and Disgusts, which reigned at *Oxford*, produced great Inconveniences; and as, many times, Men in a Scuffle lose their Weapons, and light upon those which belonged to their Adversaries, who again Arm themselves with those which belonged to the others, such, one would have thought, had been the Fortune of the King's Army in the Encounters with the Enemies: for those under the King's Commanders grew insensibly into all the Licence, Disorder, and Impiety, with which they had reproached the Rebels; and They, into great Discipline, Diligence, and Sobriety; which begot Courage and Resolution in them, and notable dexterity in Achievements and

Enterprifes. Infomuch as one fide feemed to Fight for Monarchy, with the Weapons of Confufion, and the other to deftroy the King and Government, with all the Principles and Regularity of Monarchy.

In the beginning of the Troubles, the King had very prudently refolved with himfelf, to confer no Honors, or beftow any Offices or Preferments upon any, till the end and conclufion of the Service; and if that Refolution had continued, He would have found much eafe by it, and his Service great Advantage. The Neceffity and Exigents of the War, fhortly after, made fome breach into this feafonable refolution, and, for ready Money to carry on the War, his Majefty was compelled, againft his Nature, to difpenfe fome favors, which he would not willingly have fuffered to be purchafed, but by Virtue and high Merit. Then all Men thought Money and Money-worth to be all one; and that whofoever, by his Service, had deferved a Reward of Money, had deferved any thing that might be had for Money. And when it was apparent, that the War was like to prove a bufinefs of time, it was thought unreafonable, that the King fhould not confer rewards on Some, which he was able to do, becaufe he could not do it on All, which was confeffedly out of his power. And fo, by importunity, and upon the Title of old Promifes, and fome conveniences of his Service, he beftowed Honors upon fome principal Officers of his Army, and Offices upon others; to which, though, in the particulars, no juft exceptions could be taken, yet many were Angry to fee fome preferred, and not fo much extolling their

own merit and service, as making it equal to those whom they saw advanced, every Man thought himself neglected and slighted, in that another was better esteemed.

And this Poison of Envy wrought upon many Natures, which had skill enough not to confess it: The Soldiers, albeit they were emulous amongst themselves, and very unsatisfied with one another (there being unhappy Animosities amongst the Principal Officers) yet they were too well united, and reconciled against any other Body of Men; and thinking the King's Crown depended wholly on the fortune of Their Swords, believed no other Persons to be considerable, and no Councils fit to be consulted with, but the Martial; and thence proceeded a fatal disrespect and irreverence to the Council of State, to which, by the wholesome Constitution of the Kingdom, the Militia, Garrisons, and all Martial power is purely, and naturally Subordinate; and by the Authority, and prudence whereof, Provision could be only reasonably expected, for the counterance and support of the Army.

The General, and Prince *Rupert*, were both Strangers to the Government and Custom of the Kingdom, and utterly unacquainted with the Nobility, and the King's Ministers, or with their Rights: and the Prince's heart was so wholly set upon Actions of War, that he not only neglected, but too much contemned the peaceable and civil Arts, which were most necessary even to the carrying on of the other. And certainly, somewhat like that which *Plutarch* says of the Roman Auguries, "that *Qætavius* lost

“ his Life by trusting to them, and that *Marius* prof-
 “ pered the better, because he did not altogether
 “ despise them, may be said of Popularity :” though
 he that too immoderately, and importunately affects
 it (which was the case of the Earl of *Essex*) will
 hardly continue innocent ; yet he who too affectedly
 despises, or neglects what is said of him, or what is
 generally thought of Persons, or Things, and too
 Stoically contemns the Affections of Men, even of
 Vulgar (be his other Abilities and Virtues as great
 as can be imagined) will, in some conjuncture of
 time, find himself very unfortunate. And it may be,
 a better reason cannot be assigned for the misfortunes
 that hopeful young Prince (who had great parts of
 mind, as well as Vigor of Body, and an incompa-
 rable personal Courage) underwent, and the King-
 dom thereby, than that unpolished roughness of his
 Nature; which rendered him less patient to hear,
 and consequently less skilful to judge of those things,
 which should have guided him in the discharge of
 his important Trust : and making an unskilful judge-
 ment of the unusefulness of the Councils, by his ob-
 servation of the infirmities and weakness of some
 particular Counsellors, he grew to a full disesteem
 of the Acts of that Board ; which must ever be re-
 spected, as long as the Regal Power is exercised in
England.

I cannot but, on this occasion, continue this di-
 gression thus much farther, to observe, that they
 who avoid public Debates in Council, or think
 them of no moment, upon undervaluing the Per-
 sons of some Counsellors, and from the particular

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infirmities of the Men, the heaviness of this Man, the Levity of another, the weakness and simplicity of a third, conclude, that the advice and opinions of Many are not requisite to any great design, are exceedingly deceived; and will perniciously deceive others who are misled by those conclusions. For it is in Wisdom, as it is in Beauty, a face that, being taken in pieces, affords scarce one exact feature, an eye, or a nose, or a tooth, or a brow, or a mouth, against which a visible just exception may not be taken, yet altogether, by a gracefulness and vivacity in the whole, may constitute an excellent Beauty, and be more charming than another, whose Symmetry is more faultless; so there are many Men, who in one particular Argument, may be unskilful, in another affected, who may seem to have some Levity, and Vanity, or Formality, in ordinary and cursory Conversation (a very crooked Rule to measure any Man's Abilities, as giving a better Measure of the Humor, than of the Understanding) and yet in formed Counsels, Deliberations, and Transactions, are Men of great Insight, and Wisdom, and from whom excellent Assistance may be contributed.

No Question, all great Enterprises, and Designs, that are to be executed, have many parts, even in the projection, fit for the Survey and Disquisition of several Faculties and Abilities, equally for the decision of sharper, and more phlegmatic Understandings: And We often hear, in Debates of great Moment, Animadversions of more weight, and consequence, from those whose ordinary conversation may not be so delightful, than from Men of more

sublime parts. Certainly *Solomon* well understood himself, when he said. *In the Multitude of Counsellors there is safety.* And though it be confessed, that reason would be better discovered, and stated, and right conclusions easier made by a few, than by a greater Number, yet when the Execution depends on many, and the general interpretation so much depends on the Success, and the Success on the Interpretation, We see those Counsels usually most prosperous, whereof the considerations, and deliberations, have been measured by that Standard which is most publicly acknowledged, and received. He has had but small Experience in the managing Affairs, who is not able experimentally to name to himself, some very good and useful conclusions, which have therefore only miscarried, because they were not communicated to those, who thought they had reason to believe themselves competent parties to the Secret. There was seldom ever yet that public-heartedness sunk into the breasts of Men, as to be long willing to be left out in those transactions, to the privacy whereof they had a right. And therefore Men have been often willing enough, any single Advice should miscarry, of whatsoever general Concernment, rather than contribute to the fame of some One man, who has thought Their Approbation not worth the providing for. And though the Advantage of secrecy and despatch, seems to favor a small Number of Counsellors, yet (except in some few cases, which in their own Nature are to be both consulted, and acted together, and the full Execution whereof may be by a few) I am not sure that the inconveniency

B O O K will be greater by the necessary delays, occasioned
VII. by the Number, or even by such a discovery, as may be supposed to proceed from the Levity of any of them, than by wanting the Approbation, and Concurrence of those, who will unavoidably know it soon enough to add to, or take from the Success, at least the Reputation, of any public business. Much of the Negligence, and Disrespect towards the Civil Councils, proceeded from these unhappy Causes. For as all Corporations, Tribes, and Fraternities, suffer most by the malignity of some of their own Members; so the Jealousy, and Indisposition of some Counsellors, contributed much to the disregard which fell upon the Order; and in Them, upon the King.

Among those who were next the King's Trust, and to whom he communicated the greatest Secrets in his Affairs, there were some, who from private, though very good, conditions of life, without such an application to Court as usually ushered in those promotions, were ascended to that preferment; and were believed to have an equal Interest with any, in their Master's estimation. These were sure to find no more Charity from the Court, than from the Army; and they having had lately so many equals it was thought no presumption, freely to censure all they did, or spoke; what effect soever such freedom had upon the public Policy and Transactions. It were to be wished, that Persons of the greatest Birth, Honor, and Fortune, would take that care of themselves by Education, Industry, Literature, and a love of Virtue, to surpass all other Men in Know-

ledge, and all other Qualifications, necessary for great Actions, as far as they do in Quality and Titles; that Princes, out of Them, might always chuse Men fit for all Employments, and high Trusts; which would exceedingly advance their Service; when the reputation and respect of the Person carries somewhat with it, that facilitates the business. And it cannot easily be expressed, nor comprehended by any who have not felt the weight, and burden of the Envy, which naturally attends upon those promotions, which seem to be *per Saltum*, how great straits and difficulties such Ministers are forced to wrestle with, and by which the Charges, with which they are intrusted, must proportionably suffer, let the Integrity and Wisdom of the Men, be what it can be supposed to be. Neither is the patience, and dexterity, to carry a Man through those straits, easily attained; it being very hard, in the morning of preferment, to keep an even temper of mind, between the care to preserve the dignity of the place committed to him (without which he shall expose himself to a thousand rude attempts, and dishonor the judgment that promoted him, by appearing too mean for such a Trust) and between the caution, that his Nature be not really exalted to an overweening pride and folly, upon the privilege of his great place; which will expose him to much more contempt, than the former; and therefore is, with a more exact Guard, to be avoided: the Errors of gentleness and civility, being much more easily reformed as well as endured, than the other of arrogance and ostentation.

The best provision that such Men can make for

B O O K their Voyage, besides a lasting stock of Innocency,
VII. and a firm Confidence in God Almighty, that he will never suffer that Innocency to be utterly oppressed, or notoriously defamed, is, an expectation of those Gusts and Storms of Rumor, Detraction, and Envy; and a Resolution not to be over-sensible of all Calumnies, Unkindness, or Injustice; but to believe, that, by being Preferred before other Men, they have an obligation upon them, to Suffer more than other Men would do; and that the best way to convince Scandals, and Misreports, is, by neglecting them, to appear not to have deserved them. There is not a more troublesome passion, or that often draws more inconveniences with it, than that which proceeds from the indignation of being unjustly calumniated, and from the pride of an upright Conscience; when Men cannot endure to be spoken ill of, if they have not deserved it: in which distemper, though they should free themselves from the Errors, or Infirmities, with which they were traduced, they commonly discover others, of which they had never been suspected. In a word, let no honest Man that is once entered into the list, think, he can by any skill, or comportment, prevent these Conflicts and Assaults; or that he can, by any stubborn or impetuous Humor, suppress, and prevail over them: but let him look upon it as Purgatory he is unavoidably to pass through, and depend upon Providence, and time, for a Vindication; and by constantly performing all the duties of his place, with Justice, Integrity, and Uprightness, give all Men

cause to believe, he was worthy of the first Honor; which is a Triumph very Lawfully to be affected.

As these distempers, indispositions, and infirmities of particular Men, had a great influence upon the public Affairs, and disturbed and weakened the whole frame and fabric of the King's design; so no particular Man was more disquieted by them, than the King himself; who, in his Person, as well as in his Business, suffered all the Vexation of the rude, petulant, and discontented Humors of Court, and Army. His Majesty now paid Interest for all the benefit and advantage, he had received in the beginning of the War, by his gentleness, and Princely accessibility to all Men, and by descending somewhat from the forms of Majesty, which he had, in his former Life, observed with all punctuality. He vouchsafed then himself to receive any Addresses, and Overtures for his Service, and to hold discourse with all Men who brought devotion to him; and he must be now troubled with the complaints, and murmurs, and humors of all; and how frivolous, and unreasonable soever, the cause was, his Majesty was put both to inform, and temper their Understandings. No Man would receive an Answer but from Himself, and expected a better from him, than he must have been contented to have received from any Body else. Every Man magnified the Service he had done, and his Ability, and Interest to do greater, and proposed Honor and Reward equal to both in his own sense. And if he received not an Answer to his mind, he grew sullen, complained, "he was neglected," and resolved, or pretended

B O O K so, “ to quit the Service, and to Travel into some
VII. “ Foreign Kingdom.” He is deceived that believes the ordinary Carriage, and State of a King, to be matters of indifferency, and of no relation to his Greatness. They are the Outworks, which preserve Majesty itself from approaches and surprisal We find that the Queen of *Sheba* was amazed at the meat of *Solomon’s Table*, and the sitting of his Servants, and the attendance of his Ministers, and their Apparel, and his Cup-bearers, &c. as so great instances of *Solomon’s Wisdom*, that *there was no more Spirit in her*. And no doubt, what Prince soever inconsiderately departs from those forms, and Trappings, and Ornaments of his Dignity, and Pre-eminence, will hardly, at some time, be able to preserve the body itself of Majesty, from intrusion, invasion, and violation.

And let no Man think, that the King had now no hard task to master these Troubles, and that a short and sharp blast of Royal Severity, would easily have dispersed these Clouds. The Disease was too violent and catching, and the Contagion too Universal, to be cured by that Remedy; neither were the symptoms, or effects, the same in all constitutions. It cannot be imagined, into how many several shapes Men’s indispositions were put, and how many Artifices were used to get Honors, Offices, Preferments, and the waywardness and perverseness, which attended the being disappointed of their own hopes. One Man had been named for such a place, that is, Himself and his Friends had given it out, that he should have it, when, it may be, he was too modest

to pretend to it; and upon this Vogue he had a Title, and if it should be conferred upon another, it would be a mark of the King's disfavor to him; and thereby he should lose the Ability, and Credit, without which he could do no farther Service. Another suggested, that his Friends and Companions in consort, had all received some obligation, and if he alone should remain without some testimony of Favor, it would be a brand upon him of some signal unworthiness. No Man was so hard-hearted to himself, as not to be able to give a reason for any thing he desired; and He commonly had best success, who prosecuted his own wishes with most boldness, and importunity; neither was there a better, or another reason for some Men's Preferment, than that they had set their hearts upon it, and would have it. And it was a great temptation to modest Natures, to find forward Men had so good Fortune, that the want of Success begun to be imputed to want of Wit.

I remember about this time, a Person of good Quality, and of a good Name in Action, came to me very pensive, and told me, "how conscientiously he had served the King, without any private designs, or other thoughts, than the discharge of his own Duty, and rendering the performance of that Duty acceptable to his Majesty; yet that, to his unspeakable discomfort, he found, he had been misrepresented to the King, and that his Majesty had entertained a sinister opinion of him, and desired me to learn, what the ground of the prejudice was, and by my good testimony to

B O O K VII. “endeavour to remove it.” I had a very good opinion of the Person and believed the King had so, and therefore persuaded him, that the Jealousy was groundless, and pressed to know, from whence he received those impressions; he excused himself in the particular, and assured me, “that he had his
 “Advertisement from a sure hand, which was to
 “be concealed and not doubted; that, upon my
 “Inquiry, I would find it true, though he could
 “not imagine the cause. I promised him, I would
 “press the King very heartily in it, and if there
 “were any thing that stuck with him, I presumed
 “his Majesty would be so gracious to let me know
 “it;” and accordingly, having shortly after an opportunity to wait on his Majesty, I told him the true Narrative of what had passed, with my observation of the general comportment of that Gentleman, and besought his Majesty, “if any ill Offices
 “had been done him, or that any prejudice towards
 “him was lodged in his Royal breast, that he would
 “graciously vouchsafe to tell me what it was, and
 “that he would allow him an Access, to clear himself from any imputations.” The King very cheerfully assured me, “that he had not only a very good
 “opinion of that Gentleman, but that he was most
 “assured, he had no real suspicion to the contrary;” and therefore, bid me, “proceed to the other part
 “of my business.” I told him, “I had no more,
 “and that I was sure, I should make a very happy
 “Man by satisfying him of what I found.” Then, said the King, “you are not thoroughly instructed,
 “for the other half of this business must be a Suit.

I replied,

I replied, " if that were so, I was yet more ignorant than I suspected myself." The Gentleman shortly after came to me, in pain, as I thought, with the jealousy of being in Umbrage; and when I gave him pregnant Assurance to the contrary, with the mention of some Expressions the King had used, which were indeed very gracious, he seemed to receive it with such a countenance and gusto, that I verily believed he had Had his heart's desire. But, the next morning, he came to me again, and told me, " that I had made him abundantly happy; and " that he doubted not, there was no just ground " for the other reports, but only the Malice of " those who wished them true; yet, that they had " lessened his credit abroad, even with his Friends, " and that he found, there was no way to keep up " his Reputation, and Interest in the world, where- " by he might be able to do the King Service (which was all he looked after) but the receiving " some testimony of the King's good opinion, which " would be a public evidence that the other discourses were false." I was surpris'd, and as much out of countenance, as He should have been; and advised him " to patience, and to expect the King's " own time, and method, rather than to quicken " him by any importunity, which would give an ill " relish to any obligation." He would not understand that Philosophy, but shortly after found some other means to press the King very roundly for a place, upon the title of that good opinion he had declared to me to hold of him; not without some implication, " that, without some such earnest of his

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“ Majesty’s goodness, he should not be able to continue in his Service;” which probably was one of the modestest Addresses, which were made to him at that time. And it cannot be denied, this way the King’s Trouble was so great, that he many times suffered more Vexation from the indisposition, and humors of his own People, than from the Enemy, or the apprehension of their Counsels: which hath made me enlarge this digression so much; conceiving it no less to be a part of History, and more useful to Posterity, to leave a Character of the times, than of the Persons, or the Narrative of the matters of Fact, which cannot be so well understood, as by knowing the Genius that prevailed when they were transacted.

The best Expedient his Majesty could find to dispel these fumes, was Motion and Action; and therefore, though the Season of the Year was too far spent, and too many Officers hurt, for the taking the Field again, besides that many Regiments were returned to their old Posts (as the *Welsh* to defend their own Country from the Incursions from *Glocester*, and to reduce some Towns in *Pembroke-shire*, which, lying on the Sea, by the help of the Parliament-Ships, begun to fortify, and gather strength) yet he resolved his Forces about *Oxford* should not lie still.

In the beginning of *October*, Prince *Rupert*, with a strong Party of Horse, Foot, and Dragoons, marched into *Bedfordshire*, and took the Town of *Bedford*, and in it a Party of the Enemy, who used it only as a strong Quarter. This expedition was principally to countenance Sir *Lewis Dives*, whilst

he Fortified *Newport-Pannel*, where he hoped to fix a Garrison; which would have made a more direct line of communication with the Northern Parts, and restrained the Commerce between *London* and their Associated Counties; which they well understood; and therefore, upon the first News of it, the Earl of *Essex* removed his head Quarters from *Windſor* to *St. Albans*, and the Trained-bands of *London*, and their Auxiliary-Regiments, marched again to him for his Recruit; upon the advancement whereof, and a mistake of Orders from *Oxford*, Sir *Lewis Dives* drew off his Forces from *Newport-Pannel*; and the Enemy presently possessed themselves of it, and made it a very useful Garrison. Upon which, Prince *Rupert* Fortified *Toffiter*, a Town in *Northamptonshire*, and left a strong Garrison there; which, though it infested the Enemy somewhat, and took great Revenge upon those Counties which had expressed a violent Affection to the Parliament, in truth, added little strength to the King; for he lost many Horse by the labor of duty, the greatest part of the Body of his Horse being forced to Quarter near that place, for the security of the Foot, till the Works about the Town were in such a forwardness, that they needed not fear their Neighbours at *St. Albans*.

In the mean time, the power of the Parliament was least Manifest in the West, where their Party was reduced to a lowness, and confined within narrow limits after the taking of *Exeter*; the Gentlemen of that County having been generally well devoted to the King's Service, though never able safely to

The King's
Affairs in the
West.

B O O K declare it, at least to appear in a posture of opposing
VII. the violence of the other Party. Prince *Maurice* found a general concurrence to advance the great work, by Levies of Money, Men, and all Offices that could be expected; insomuch as, within very few days after the Surrender of that Town, his Army of Foot, by the new Levies, contained no fewer than seven thousand Men (which was a Body the West had not before seen) besides a Body of Horse, at least proportionable to the other; and all in excellent Equipage for Action. And at the same time, Colonel *John Digby* was before *Plymouth*, with above three thousand Foot, and six hundred Horse, and had taken a work from the Enemy of great Importance, called *Mount-Stamford* in honor of that Earl during the time of his abode there, within half a mile of the Town, and which Commanded some part of the River; the loss whereof gave the Town a marvellous discouragement.

The first Error the Prince committed after the reducing of *Exeter*, was staying too long there before he Advanced; for Victorious Armies carry great Terror with them, whilst the memory and fame of the Victory is fresh. The next, that he moved not directly towards *Plymouth*, when he did move; which, in all probability, would have yielded upon his Approach: for the Town was full of distraction, and jealousy amongst themselves, as well as unprovided for the reception of an Enemy. It was a rich and populous Corporation, being, in time of Peace, the greatest Port for Trade in the West; and, except *Bristol*, then more considerable than all the rest.

There was in it a Castle very strong towards the Sea, with good Platforms and Ordnance; and little more than Musquet-shot from the Town, was an Island with a Fort in it, much stronger than the Castle; both which were, before the Troubles, under the Command of a Captain, with a Garrison of about fifty Men at the most; and were only intended for a security, and defence of the Town, against a Foreign Invasion; the Castle and the Island together, having a good Command of the entrance into the Harbour, but towards the Land there was very little strength. This Command was in the hands of Sir *Jacob Ashley*, and as unprovided to expect, or resist an Enemy, as the other Castles and Forts of the Kingdom; less for the receiving a Recruit; there being only Ordnance, and Ammunition, without any other Provisions for the support of the Soldiers within the Walls; and the Garrison itself being by time, Marriages, and Trade. Incorporated into the Town, and rather Citizens than Soldiers: So that Sir *Jacob Ashley* being sent for to the King, before his setting up his Standard, as soon as there was any apprehension of a Party for the King in *Cornwal*, after the appearing of Sir *Ralph Hopton*, and those other Gentlemen there, the Mayor, and Corporation of *Plymouth*, quickly got both the Castle and Island into their own Power.

It will be wondered at by many hereafter, that those, and the like places of Strength in *England*, being under the Command of Persons entirely of his Majesty's Nomination, were not put into a good Posture of Defence, when it grew first Evident,

B O O K that there would be shortly occasion to use them ; for
VII. according to the old story in *Ælian* , that when in one of the States of *Greece* , *Micippus's* Sheep brought forth a Lion, it was generally, and justly concluded, that That portended a Tyranny, and change of the State from a Peaceable to a Bloody Government ; so when the two Houses of Parliament first produced a Sovereign Power, to make, and alter, and suspend Laws, before they raised an Army, or made a General, or declared War ; when that mild and innocent Sheep, that Legal regular Convention of a sober and modest Council, had once brought forth that Lion which sought whom he might devour, it might be easily, and naturally concluded by all wise and sober Men, that the blessed calm, and temperate State of Government, by which every Man ate the fruit of his own Vine, was at an end ; and Rapine, Blood, and Desolation, to succeed ; and therefore that those Holds should, in reason, have been then provided for.

But I shall say here once for all, that from the time that there was any reasonable jealousy of a War, it was never in the King's Power to mend the condition of any of those places ; and if he had attempted it, with what caution or secrecy soever, the inconvenience he must have sustained by it, besides the failing of his end, would have been much greater than the Advantage which could have accrued, if he had done what he desired. I have very ill described the times We have passed through, if That be not apparent ; and that it was rather an Error of the former times, that those places needed any Supply, than that it was not applied to them in the succeeding.

The Parliament was very glad *Plymouth* was thus secured; and, as well to put an obligation upon all Corporations, by showing they thought them capable of the greatest Trusts, as because they could not, in truth, more reasonably Confide in any other, they committed the Government thereof to that Mayor; who was well enough instructed, what respect to pay to their Committee; which was appointed to reside there for his Assistance, and to conduct the Affairs in those parts. Of that Committee, Sir *Alexander Carew* was one; a Gentleman of a good Fortune in *Cornwal*, who served in Parliament as Knight for that County, and had, from the beginning of the Parliament, concurred in all conclusions with the most Violent, with as full a Testimony of that Zeal and Fury, to which their Confidence was applied, as any Man. To Him the Custody and Government of that Fort, and Island, which was looked upon as the Security of the Town, was committed; and a sufficient Garrison put into it. The Mayor Commanded the Castle, and the Town, about which a Line was cast up of Earth, weak, and irregular.

After the Battle of *Stratton*, and the King's Forces prevailing so far over the West, that *Bristol* was taken by them, and *Exeter* closely Besieged, Sir *Alexander Carew* begun to think, his Island and Fort would hardly secure his Estate in *Cornwal*; and understood the Law so well (for he had had a good Education) to know, that the side he had chosen, would be no longer the Better, than it should continue the Stronger; and having originally followed

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Sir Alexander
Carew Treats
to Surrender
the Fort of
Plymouth to
the King's
Forces, but is
surprised.

no other Motives, than of Popularity and Interests, resolved now to redeem his Errors; and found means to correspond with some of his old Friends and Neighbours in *Cornwal*, and by them, to make a direct Overture to Surrender that Fort and Island to the King, upon an Assurance of his Majesty's Pardon, and a full remission of his Offences. Sir *John Berkeley*, who then lay before *Exeter*, was the next supreme Officer, qualified to entertain such a Treaty; and He, instantly, by the same Conveyance, returned him as Ample Assurance of his own Conditions as could be; with advice, "that he should not, upon
" any defect of forms (which, upon his engagement,
" should be supplied with all possible expedition,
" to his own satisfaction) defer the consummating
" the work; which hereafter, possibly, might not
" be in his power to effect:" designs of that Nature being to be consulted and executed together; for in those cases, according to *Mutianus in Tacitus*, *Qui deliberant, desciverunt*; and the greatest danger attends the not going on. But he was so sottishly, and dangerously wary of his own Security (having neither Courage enough to obey his Conscience, nor Wickedness enough to be prosperous against it) that he would not proceed, till he was sufficiently assured that his Pardon was passed the Great Seal of *England*; before which time, though all imaginable haste was made, by the Treachery of a Servant whom he trusted, his Treaty and Design was discovered to the Mayor, and the rest of the Committee; and, according to the diligence used by that Party, in cases of such concernment, he was suddenly, and without

resistance, surpris'd in his Fort, and carried Prisoner into *Plymouth*; and from thence, by Sea, sent to *London*; where what became of him, will be remembered in it's place. BOOK
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Shortly after this accident, Colonel *Digby* came before the Town; and though the great damage was by this means prevented, yet it cannot be imagined, but the People were in great distraction, with the apprehension of the danger they had escap'd; and those discoveries bring always that Melancholy with them, that Men are not quickly again brought to a confidence in one another. For no Man had, to common understanding, better deserv'd to be trusted, or given less Argument for Suspicion: And upon such a defection, who could hope to stand free from jealousy? Besides he could not but have had much familiarity with many in the Town, which must subject them to some Suspicion, or, at least, make them suspect that they were suspected; and without doubt, it awakened many to apprehend the immediate hand of God in the Judgment, that he would not suffer a Man to recover the Security, and Comfort of his Allegiance, who had so signally departed from it against the light of his own Conscience; and that a Man, who had been before precipitate against all reason, should perish by considering too much, when precipitation was only reasonable.

The fame of the winning of *Exeter*, by which a Victorious Army was at liberty to visit them, and then the loss of *Mount-Stamford*, which was their only considerable Fortification to the Land; with those other discomposures, wrought a wonderful conster-

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nation amongst them; and made them consider, that if they could hold out; and defend their Town, the Country being all lost, they must lose all their Trade, and so from Merchants become only Soldiers; which was not the condition they contended for. Infomuch as the Mayor himself was not without a propensity to send for a Treaty, upon which the Town might be delivered to the King: and it was by many then believed, that if Prince *Maurice* had then marched from *Exeter* before it, that Treaty would infallibly have ensued. But, when I say it was an error that he did Not, I intend it rather as a Misfortune than a Fault; for his Highness was an utter stranger in those parts; and therefore was not, without great appearance of reason, persuaded first to bend his course to *Dartmouth*; which was looked upon “as an easy work, and a Harbour, which, “ being got, would draw a very good Trade: and “ that short work being performed, *Plymouth* would “ have the less Courage to make resistance; and if “ it should, it were much fitter for the Winter, “ which was now drawing on (for it was more than “ the middle of *September*) “ than the other, by “ reason of the conveniency of good accommodation “ for the Soldiers, near about it; which could not “ be had about *Dartmouth*.”

Upon these reasons, he marched directly to *Dartmouth*; which, how unfit soever to make a Defence against such an Army, by the disadvantage of Situation, and the want of all those helps which use to make a Garrison confident, he found in no temper and disposition to yield; so that he sat down before it.

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VII.

Prince Maurice sits down before Dartmouth; and takes it.

And shortly after, there came so violent a Season of Rain, and foul Weather, that very many of his Men, with lying on the ground, fell sick, and died; and more, run away. Yet, after near a Month's Siege, and the loss of many good Men (whereof the same Colonel *Chudleigh*, of whom We spoke before, was one, a Gallant young Gentleman, who received a shot with a Musquet in the Body, of which he died within few days, and was a wonderful loss to the King's Service) it was given up on fair conditions; and then the Prince, having placed a Garrison there, under the Command of Colonel *Seymour*, a Gentleman of principal account and interest in *Devonshire*, lost no more time, but with all convenient expedition, marched to *Plymouth*; which was not now in the State it had been; for the Parliament being quickly informed, how terrible an impression the loss of almost all other Parts of the West, had made upon the Spirits of that People, had before this time sent a recruit of five hundred Men, and a *Scotch* Officer to be Governor; who eased the Mayor of that unequal Charge, and quickly made it evident, that nothing but a peremptory defence was thought of. So the Prince sat down before it with an Army much inferior, after he had joined with Colonel *Digby*, to that with which he had marched from *Exeter* to *Dartmouth*; yet with much confidence to reduce that Town, before the Winter should be over.

Sits down before Plymouth too late.

Though the King's Success, and good Fortune, had met with a check in the relief of *Glocester*, and the Battle of *Newbury*, yet his condition seemed mightily improved by the whole Summer's Service. For whereas he seemed before confined, upon the

B O O K matter, within *Oxfordshire*, and half *Berkshire*, (which
VII. half was lost too upon the loss of *Reading* in the Spring) and the Parties which appeared for him in other Counties, seemed rather sufficient to hinder a general Union against him, than that they were like to reduce them to his devotion; he was now, upon the matter, Master of the whole West; *Cornwal* was his own without a Rival; *Plymouth* was the only place, in all *Devonshire*, unreduced; and those Forces shut within their own Walls: the large, rich County of *Somerset*, with *Bristol*, entirely His: In *Dorsetshire*, the Enemy had only too little fisher-Towns, *Poole* and *Lyme*; all the rest was declared for the King. And in every of these Counties, he had plenty of Harbours and Ports, to supply him with Ammunition, and the Country with Trade. In *Wiltshire* the Enemy had not the least footing, and rather a Town or two in *Hampshire* than any possession of the County; that People being generally undevoted to them: The whole Principality of *Wales*, except a Sea-Town or two in *Pembrokeshire*, was at his devotion; and that unfortunately obstinate Town of *Glocester* only kept him from commanding the whole *Severn*. The Parliament was nothing stronger in *Shropshire*, *Cheshire*, and *Lancashire*, than they were in the beginning of the year. And albeit the Marquis of *New-Castle* had been forced to rise as unfortunately from *Hull*, as the King had been from *Glocester*, yet he had still a full power over *Yorkshire*, and a greater in *Nottinghamshire*, and *Lincolnshire*, than the Parliament had. So that he might be thought to be now strong enough to make War; the contrary opinion whereof had been one of the greatest reasons that

there was no Peace. And therefore Many believed, that, what appearance soever there was of obstinacy, the Winter would produce some Overtures of Accommodation; and that all the noise of preparation from *Scotland*, was only to incline the King to the greater condescensions; and that, in truth, they who had pretended the concurrent desire of the People, as the best reason for whatsoever they had proposed, and traduced the King with a purpose of bringing Foreign Forces to awe, and impose upon his own Subjects, would not now have the hardiness to bring in a stronger Nation to invade their Country, and to compel that People, by whose Affections they would be thought to be guided, to submit to Changes they had no mind to receive. And the Arrival of the Count of *Harcourt*, as Extraordinary Ambassador from the Crown of *France*, was looked upon as an expedient to usher in some Treaty, and to remove those ceremonies, and preliminary Propositions, which, by reason of the mutual Declarations, and Protestations against each other, might be thought of greater difficulty, than any real differences between them.

The Count
of Harcourt
arrives Am-
bassador from
France.

The King himself was not without expectation of notable Effects from this Embassy; for the State of *France* seemed to be much altered from what it was at the beginning of these Troubles. Cardinal *Richelieu*, who, the King well knew, had more than fomented the Troubles both in *England*, and *Scotland*, was now dead; and the King of *France* himself likewise; and those old Ministers of State who had been long in the *Bastile*, or Banished, were now set a liberty, and recalled, and in favor; the Queen-Mother made

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Regent; who professed great personal kindness to the Queen of *England*, and so great a sense of the indignities the King and She suffered, that she seemed sensible, that *France* had contributed too much to them; and to think, that the Interest, as well as Honor of that Crown, was concerned to buoy up the Monarchy of *England*; with intimations, “that the King himself should direct, what way he would be served by that Crown.” The first Evidence they gave of meaning as they said, was the revocation of Monsieur *la Ferté Senneterre*, the Ambassador then Resident in *England*, who had contracted a wonderful familiarity with the fiercest Managers of the Parliament, and done the King all imaginable disservice; insomuch as he had industriously persuaded some *English* Priests, and Jesuits, to engage those of the Romish persuasion, by no means to assist the King; with a full assurance, “that the Parliament would allow them Liberty of Conscience.” This Minister his Majesty desired might be recalled; which was not only suddenly done, but a private intimation likewise given to Our Queen, “that She should nominate, what Person was to be employed in his place; who should wholly guide himself by Her Instructions:” and her Majesty was led to make choice of Monsieur *le Comte d’Harcourt*, one of the principal Persons of that Kingdom, being a Prince of the House of *Lorraine*, and so allied to the King, and Grand Escuyer; and had been their late fortunate General in *Catalonia*, where he had given the *Spaniards* the greatest Defeat they had received; which was not thought an unseasonable Qualification in an Ambassador whose business was to mediate a Peace.

His Reception at *London* was with much solemnity, that he might not find there was any absence of Ceremony or State, by the absence of the King; yet when he had a safe Conduct for *Oxford*, his Carriages were stopped at the going out of *London*, and his own Coach, as well as all other places, searched with great and unusual rudeness, upon suspicion that he carried Letters; and though he expostulated the Affront, as a high violation of his Honor, and Privilege, he received no manner of reparation, or the Officer, that did it, any reprehension; which made many believe, that he would have been very keen in the resentment. The King expected that, by this Ambassador, the Crown of *France* would have made a brisk Declaration on his Majesty's behalf; and if the Parliament should not return to their regular Obedience, that they should have found no correspondence, or reception in that Kingdom; and that they would really assist his Majesty, in such a manner as he should propose; which Declaration, he thought, would prove of moment with the City of *London*, in respect of their Trade; but more with the *Scots*, who were understood to have an especial dependance upon *France*.

When the Ambassador returned from his Audience at *Oxford*, where he stayed not many days, he sent a paper to the Earl of *Northumberland*, by which he desired his Lordship, "to impart to the Messieurs
" of Parliament, that he had made known to their
" Majesties, the Affectionate desire the King his
" Master, and the Queen his Mistress, had to con-
" tribute all good Offices, in the procurement of
" Peace, and Tranquillity in this Kingdom; to

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“ which he found the desires of their Majesties well
 “ disposed; and therefore he desired to know, whe-
 “ ther his Lordship thought the two Houses did cor-
 “ respond in the same intention; if they did, after
 “ they should make him understand the Subject that
 “ had obliged them to take up Arms, he would in-
 “ terpose to pacify the differences, by such expe-
 “ dients, as should be most conformable to the an-
 “ cient Laws, and Customs of the Realm.”

After the Earl of *Northumberland* had informed the House of Peers of this representation. it was, at a Conference, imparted to the House of Commons, and an Answer was framed by joint agreement, to be returned by the Earl of *Northumberland* to the Ambassador. In the form of it, they gave him the Title of *Prince of Harcourt*, and *Grand Escuyer of France*; but omitted that of *Extraordinary Ambassador in England*, because it did not appear to the Parliament, by Letters of Credence, or the sight of his Instructions from the King, or Queen Regent of *France*, that he was by them employed Extraordinary Ambassador into *England*.

The Answer itself was, “ that the Lords and Com-
 “ mons in Parliament did, with all due Respects,
 “ accept of the Affectionate desires of the King, and
 “ Queen-Regent of *France*, to contribute good
 “ Offices, towards the procuring a happy Peace;
 “ and that, when the said Monsieur *le Prince d' Har-*
 “ *court* should make any such Propositions to the
 “ Parliament, by Authority from their Majesties of
 “ *France*, they would give then such an Answer to
 “ the same, as might stand with the Interest of both
 Kingdoms,

“ Kingdoms, and their late solemn League and Covenant” The Lords proposed, “ that there might be a Committee appointed to Treat with the Ambassador:” But the Commons would by no means consent to it, “ till he should make it manifest, that he had Authority from his Master to Treat with the Parliament;” and withal they declared, “ that if he had, at any time, any thing farther to offer to them, they would not receive it from any particular Member of either House; but that he should apply himself by writing, or otherwise, to the Speaker of either, or both Houses of Parliament; otherwise, they would hold no correspondence with him.” The ground of this resolution was, that they might draw from the Ambassador (which they presumed could not be without the Privy, and Approbation of the King) an Address, and Acknowledgment that they were a Parliament, against the Freedom whereof, and consequently the present Being, his Majesty had, by his late Proclamation, declared. So the Ambassador, after a Journey or two to *Oxford*, and some perfunctory Addresses to the Houses, returned to *France, re infecta*, and without the least expression of dislike, on his Master’s behalf, of their proceedings.

Returns into France without any good effect to the King.

Some were scrupulous in believing that *France* really intended to repair the mischief it had done; and observed, that though there were some plausible compliances, in point of Ceremony, with particular Persons, after the death of the former Cardinal; yet, that the main Counsels were carried on upon the Rules and Directions he had left; and that the Car-

B O O K VII. Cardinal *Mazarin*, a Person who had been of the highest trust with the other, wholly now presided over those Counsels; and considered, how much *France* might imagine it would conduce to their Interest, that the King of *England* should not have all his Subjects in perfect Obedience, lest he might offer to be an Arbitrator of their great differences: I say, these Men believed Count *Harcourt's* Instructions privately were no other, than the last Ambassador's; whom the King had caused to be recalled. And it cannot be denied, that they who were inclined to that jealousy, had arguments enough to increase it.

When this Extraordinary Ambassador was appointed to come for *England*, Mr. *Mountague* was in the Court of *France*, very much trusted by both their Majesties, and by his Quality, and near relation to so great a Trust, his long conversation in that Court, and a singular dexterity in his Nature, adorned with excellent Parts, was thought to have a very good place in the favor, and particular estimation of that Queen-Regent, and in the opinion of the Cardinal; to whom he had been useful. With this Gentleman most of the conclusions had been transacted, which were preparatory to the Ambassador's Journey; and it was thought fit, that He should at the same time come into *England*; and, in such a disguise, as might easily conceal a Man better known in *France* than in his own Country, in the Ambassador's Train find a safe passage to *Oxford*; which was carried with so much secrecy, that, besides to the Ambassador himself, he was known to very few of his Retinue. The Count of *Harcourt* was not Landed four-and-twenty hours, but in his Journey towards *London*, a Mes-

senger from the Parliament apprehended Mr. *Mountague*, and carried him a Prisoner to the Houses; by whom he was committed to the Tower, and though the Ambassador made a great show of resenting it, he never claimed him in such a manner as to procure his Enlargement; which made Men believe, the Cardinal liked well his confinement, and desired not he should be either at *Oxford* or *Paris*.

At the Ambassador's first coming to *Oxford*, after general Overtures, and Declarations of the resolution of that Crown, "to give his Majesty all possible Assistance for his re-establishment," he proposed a League Offensive and Defensive with the King. His Majesty, that knew well such an Offer was not to be rejected, lest they should from thence take an occasion to refuse those things he should propose, appointed a Committee of his Council (according to the usual Course) to Treat with the Ambassador, upon all necessary Articles, which should attend such a Treaty; declaring an Inclination to enter into such a League as was proposed; and thereupon desired "a present Loan of Money, and a supply of a good proportion of Arms, and Ammunition; and likewise that the Crown of *France* would declare against the Subjects of *England*, and *Scotland*, who should persist in Rebellion; according to an Article ratified in the last Treaty now in force.

The Ambassador, who it seems, expected that there should have been more pauses in the Overture of the League Offensive and Defensive, for the present declined the Treating with the Committee; alledging; "that he was, upon the matter, a Minister

BOOK VII. “ of both their Majesties ; and was to receive Com-
 “ mand from them , and wholly to attend their Ser-
 “ vice; and therefore that he desired wholly to com-
 “ municate with their Majesties themselves:” and
 shortly after waved any further mention of the League,
 with an affected compliment , “ that it would not ap-
 “ pear a generous thing, to press the King to any Act
 “ in this his distress , which he had made scruple of
 “ consenting to heretofore, when the Fortune of
 “ both Crowns were equally Prosperous : but that
 “ his Master and Mistress, would frankly contribute
 “ all that could be reasonably expected from them ,
 “ towards his Majesty’s Restoration, and Establish-
 “ ment ; and afterwarde expect such a return of Affec-
 “ tion from his Majesty , as the greatness of the ob-
 “ ligation should merit in his Princely estimation.”
 And at the same time , the Queen-Regent and Car-
 dinal positively denied to the Lord *Goring* , Ambaf-
 sador Extraordinary then from his Majesty in *France*,
 that ever the Count of *Harcourt* had any Instruction to
 mention a League Offensive and Defensive. These
 particular carriages , and his not resenting the Indig-
 nities, offered to him by the Parliament, made many
 Men believe, that this Ambassador, notwithstanding
 all the specious professions, was sent rather to foment,
 than extinguish the fire that was kindled. Certain it
 is, during his stay in *England*, he did not, in the least
 degree, advance the King’s Service ; and at his return,
 left the Parliament more united amongst themselves
 against the King , and the *Scots* more advanced to-
 wards their coming in , than he found them ; there
 being at the same time likewise a *French Agent* in

Scotland; who produced no alteration in the Affections of that People, to the King's Advantage. B O O K VII.

The return of the three Earls, formerly mentioned, to *London* in the Winter, who so solemnly applied themselves to the King in the Spring, contributed exceedingly to the Union of the two Houses at *Westminster*. The other two stayed longer; and retired with much more decency, if not with a tacit permission. But the Earl of *Holland*, when he saw his place in the Bed Chamber conferred upon the Marquis of *Hertford*, in much discontent, found an opportunity, which was not difficult, to remove out of the King's Quarters; and before he was missed at *Oxford*, Intelligence was brought that he had rendered himself to the Parliament at *London*; and to make his return the more conscientious, he declared, as hath been said, "that the ground of his deserting them formerly, and going to the King, was a hope to incline his Majesty to a Treaty of Peace; but that he found he was mistaken in the temper of the *Oxford*-Counsellors; and that the King had still about him some Counsellors, who would never consent to a safe, and well grounded Peace; and that he heard they had persuaded the King, to make a Cessation with the Rebels in *Ireland*; which affected his Conscience so much, that, though he had been sure to have lost his Life by it, he would return to the Parliament;" professing exemplary Fidelity to them, if they would again receive him into their Favor.

It may be, his discourse of *Ireland*, or the King's averseness to Peace, wrought upon very few; but the Evidence of the King's aversion so far to forgive, and

B O O K forget former Trespases, as to receive them into
VII. Favor and Trust again, made a deep impression upon many. For it is undoubtedly true, that many of the principal and governing Members of both Houses, that is, of them who had governed, and done as much mischief as any, either out of apprehension that the King would prevail, or that They should not prevail soon enough, or the animosity against those who had outgrown their Government, and followed new Leaders of their own, and to other ends than had been originally proposed, or out of some motions of Conscience, were quite weary of the Parliament, and desirous to obtain a fair admission to the King; and looked only upon the footing which those Doves which went first out of the Ark, should find; and surely, if that expedient had been dexterously managed, it had been the most probable way to have drawn the Parliament into such contempt, that it must have fallen of itself: A way, that in no Civil War, which is arrived to any vigor and power of contending, ought to be declined. For a Body, that is not formed by Policy, with any avowed and fixed Principles of Government, but by the distempered Affections, Ambition, and Discontent of particular Persons, who rather agree against a common Adversary, than are united to one just Interest, cannot so easily be dissolved, as by Treating with particular Persons, and rending those Branches from the Trunk, whose beauty and advantage consists only in the spreading.

The reasons were unanswerable, which the old Consul *Fabius* in *Livy*, *Lib. 24.* gave, in the Case of *Cassius Altinius*, who after the Defeat of *Cannæ*, desert-

ed the *Romans* and fled to *Hannibal*, by which he got the City of *Arpos*; and when the Condition of the *Romans* was again recovered and flourishing, came again to the *Roman Army*, and offered to betray that City into their hands. Many were of opinion, “ that he should be looked upon as a Common Enemy; and bound, and sent to *Hannibal*, as a perfidious Person, who knew neither how to be a Friend, nor an Enemy.” *Fabius* reprehended the unseasonable severity of those who considered, and judged in *medio ardore belli*, *tanquam in pace libera*, and told them, “ that their principal care must be, “ that none of their Friends and allies might forsake them; the next, that they who had forsaken them, “ might return again into their Obedience, and Protection: For, *si abire à Romanis liceat, redire ad eos non liceat*, it could not be, but the State of *Rome*, “ from which, in the late misfortunes, many had “ revolted, must become very desperate.

Such was the King’s condition, the Number of the Guilty being so much superior to the Innocent, that the latter could reasonably expect only to be preserved by the conversion and reduction of the former. Neither did the King not foresee, or abhor this expedient; but the temper and spirit of the time was so averse from the Stratagem, that it was evident his present loss would be as great, by practising it, as his future advantage was like to improve by it. Whatsoever damage his Majesty sustained, that unfortunate Earl received no acknowledgment, or encouragement from the other Party, who had the benefit of his return; but as his Estate was sequestered as soon as he left them, so he was now committed to Prison,

and that sequestration continued; neither was it, in a long time after, taken off nor himself ever after admitted to his place in their Council, notwithstanding all the intercession of very powerful Friends, or to any reputation of doing farther good or hurt.

Certainly, there must be thought to be some extraordinary dislike, in the very primary Laws of Nature, of such tergiversation and inconstancy; since we scarce find, in any Story, a Deserter of a Trust, or Party, he once adhered to, to be long prosperous, or in any eminent Estimation with those to whom he resorts; though, in the change, there may appear evident Arguments of reason and justice: neither hath it been in the power, or prerogative of any Authority, to preserve such Men from the reproach, and jealousy, and scandal, that naturally attends upon any Defection: *I have not found evil in thee, since the day of thy coming unto me, unto this day; nevertheless the Lords favor thee not*, was the profession of King Achish, when he dismissed David himself from marching with the Army of the Philistines; and that expostulation of those Lords, *wherewith should he reconcile himself unto his Master? should it not be with the Heads of these Men?* will be always an Argument to, raise a distrust of those who have eminently quitted their Party, And the judgment of Fabius himself, which We touched before, of Cassius Altinius, was not much in their favor; for, though he reprehended the Proposition of sending him to Hannibal, yet he concluded, “that he would have no trust reposed in him, but that he should be kept in safe custody, with Liberty to do any thing but go away, till the War was ended; *tum consul- tandum, utrum defectio prior plus merita sit pœnæ, an*

“ *hicreditus veniæ.*” As it falls out thus in Civil Affairs, and the breach of Moral obligations, so it happens in spiritual defection, and alterations in Religion: for as, among the Jews, the Profelytes were civilly and charitably treated, without upbraidings or reproaches; yet it was provided, “ that no Profelyte should be eligible into the Court of their *Sanhedrim*; and in their very conversation, they had a caution of them; *Vel ad decimam usque generationem à Profelytis cave*, was an Aphorism amongst them. And our own observation and experience, can give Us few examples of Men who have changed their Religion, and not fallen into jealousy and distrust, or disreputation, even with those with whom they side; that have made their future life less pleasant, and delightful; which, it may be, happens only because We have rare instances of Men of extraordinary parts, or great minds who have entertained those Conversions.

The Lords and Commons were all now of a mind, and no other contention amongst them, than who should most advance the power which was to suppress the King's: new and stricter Orders were made for the general taking the Covenant; and an Ordinance, “ that no Man should be in any Office, or “ Trust in their Armies, or the Kingdom, or of the “ Common-Council of *London*, or should have a “ Voice in the Election of those Officers, but such “ who had taken the Covenant; nor even they who “ had taken the Covenant, if they had been formerly “ imprisoned, or sequestered for suspicion of Malig-
“ nancy, or adhering to the King ” And that they might as well provide for their Sovereign Jurisdiction in Civil matters, as their security in Martial, they

B O O K again resumed the consideration of the Great Seal of
VII. *England*. The Commons had often pressed the House
of Peers to concur with them, “ in the making a
“ New Great Seal ; as the proper Remedy against
“ the mischiefs , which , by the absence of it , had
“ befallen the Common-wealth ; declaring , “ that
“ the Great Seal of *England* , of right , ought to
“ attend upon the Parliament ;” in which the Peers
as often refused to join with them , being startled
at the Statute of the 25th of *Edw.* the III. by which,
the counterfeiting the Great Seal of *England* is , in
express terms , declared to be High-Treason ; and it
had been in all times before understood to be the
sole property of the King , and not of the Kingdom ,
and absolutely in the King’s own disposal , where it
should be kept , or where it should attend.

The Commons
Vote a new
Broad Seal :
The Lords
concurred
with them.

This dissent of the Lords hindered not the busi-
ness ; the Commons frankly Voted , “ that a Seal
“ should be provided ,” and accordingly took Order
that one was Engraven , and brought into their
House , according to the same Size and Effigies , and
nothing differing from that which the King used at
Oxford. Being in this readiness , and observing the
Lords to be less scrupulous than they had been , about
the middle of *November* they sent again to them , to
let them know , “ they had a Great Seal ready ,
“ which should be put into the Custody of such
“ Persons , as the two Houses should appoint , and
“ if they would name some Peers , a proportionable
“ Number of the other Body should join in the exe-
“ cuting that Trust .” All objections were now
passed over , and without any hesitation their Lord-
ships not only concurred with them to have a Seal

in their own disposal, but in a Declaration and Ordinance; by which they declared, "all Letters-
 " Patent, and Grants made by the King, and passed
 " the Great Seal of *England*, after the 22^d of *May* in
 " the year 1642. (which was the day the Lord
 " Keeper left the House, and went with the Great
 " Seal to *York* to the King) to be invalid, and void
 " in Law; and henceforward, that their own Great
 " Seal should be of the like force, power, and va-
 " lidity, to all intents and purposes, as any Great
 " Seal of *England* had been, or ought to be; and that
 " whosoever, after publication of that Ordinance,
 " should pass any thing under any other Great Seal,
 " or should claim any thing thereby, should be held
 " and adjudged a public Enemy to the State."

At the same time, the Earls of *Rutland* and *Bullinbrook*, of the Peers, Mr. *Saint-John* (whom they still entitled the King's Solicitor-General, though his Majesty had revoked his Patent, and conferred that Office upon Sir *Thomas Gardner*; who had served him faithfully, and been put out of his Recorder's place of *London*, for having so done) Serjeant *Wilt* (who, being a Serjeant at Law, had with most confidence averred their legal power to make a Seal) Mr. *Brown*, and Mr. *Prideaux*, two private Practisers of the Law, were nominated "to have the keeping,
 " ordering, and disposing of it, and all such, and the
 " like Power and Authority, as any Lord-Chan-
 " cellor, or Lord-Keeper, or Commissioner of the
 " Great-Seal, for the time being, had Had, used, or
 " ought to have." The Earl of *Rutland* was so modest, as to think himself not sufficiently qualified for such a Trust; and therefore excused himself in

B O O K point of Conscience: Whereupon they nominated,
VII. in his Room, the Earl of *Kent*, a Man of far meaner parts, who readily accepted the place.

The Seal then was delivered, in the House of Commons, to their Speaker; and by Him, with much solemnity, the House attending him, to the Speaker of the Peers, at the Bar in that House. The six Commissioners were then, in the presence of both Houses, solemnly sworn "to execute the Office of
 " Keepers of the Great-Seal of *England*, in all things
 " according to the Orders, and Directions of both
 " Houses of Parliament." And thereupon the Seal was delivered by the two Speakers to them, who carried it, according to Order, to the House of the Clerk of the Parliament, in the old Palace; where it was kept locked up in a Chest; which could not be opened but in the presence of three of them, and with three several Keys. This work being over, they appointed, for the first exercise of this kind of Sovereignty, a Patent to be sealed to the Earl of *Warwick*, of Lord High-Admiral of *England*; which was done accordingly; by which many concluded, that the Earl of *Northumberland*, who had been put out of that great Office, for Their sakes, was not restored to their full confidence; others, that he desired not to wear Their Livery.

The Seal
 delivered to
 six Commis-
 sioners.

About the same time, to show that they would be Absolute, and not joint Sharers in the Sovereign Power, they gave an Instance of boldness mingled with cruelty, that made them appear very terrible. The King had published several Proclamations, for the Adjournment of the Term from *London* to *Oxford*, which had been] hitherto fruitless, for want of

the necessary Legal form of having the Writs read in Court; so that the Judges at *Oxford*, who were ready to perform their Duty, could not regularly keep the Courts there; which else they would have done, notwithstanding the Order and Declarations published by the two Houses to the contrary; they who were learned in the Law, believing that Assumption to be unquestionably out of their jurisdiction. These Writs of Adjournment had never yet been delivered seasonably, to be read in Court, or into the hands of either of the sworn Judges who yet attended at *Westminster*: of which there were three in Number, Justice *Bacon* in the King's Bench, Justice *Reeve* in the Common-Pleas, and Baron *Trevor* in the Exchequer; who, how timorous soever, and apprehensive of the power and severity of the Parliament, knowing the Law and their Duties, Men believed, would not have barefaced declined the execution of those Commands they were sworn to observe. Several Messengers were therefore sent from *Oxford* with those Writs; and appointed, on, or before such a day (for that circumstance was penal) "to find an opportunity, to deliver the Writs into the hands of the several Judges." Two of them performed their Charges, and delivered the Writs to Justice *Reeve*, and Baron *Trevor*; who immediately caused the Messengers to be apprehended.

The Houses, being informed of it, gave direction, "that they should be tried by a Council of War, as Spies; which was done at *Essex*-House." The Messengers alledged, "that they were sworn Servants to his Majesty for the transaction of those Services, for which they were now accused; and

B O O K “ that they had been legally punishable, if they had
 VII. “ refused to do their duties; the Term being to be
 “ adjourned by no other way.” Notwithstanding all
 which, they were both condemned to be hanged as
 Spies; and that such a Sentence might not be thought
 to be only *in terrorem*, the two poor Men were,
 within few days after, carried to the old *Exchange*,
 where a Gallows was purposely set up; and there
 one of them, one *Daniel Kniveton*, was without
 mercy executed; dying with another kind of Cou-
 rage than could be expected from a Man of such
 condition and education, did not the Conscience of
 being Innocent beget a marvellous satisfaction in
 Any condition. The other, after he had stood some
 time upon, or under the Gallows, looking for the
 same conclusion, was reprieved, and sent to *Bridewell*;
 where he was kept long after, till he made an Escape,
 and returned again to *Oxford*. This Example begot
 great terror in all the well affected about *London*, and
 so much the more, because, about the same time, an
 Ordinance was made, “ that whosoever went to *Ox-*
 “ *ford*, or into any of the King’s Quarters, without
 “ leave from one of the Houses, or a Pass from their
 “ General, or whosoever had any correspondence
 “ with any Person in the King’s Quarters. by writ-
 “ ing Letters, or receiving Letters, from thence,
 “ should be proceeded against as a Person disaffected
 “ to the State; and his Person committed, and his
 “ Estate sequestered; and should be liable, according
 “ to the circumstances (of which themselves would
 “ be only Judges) to be tried as Spies.

Col. Biennes
 tried for sur-

As this made them exceeding terrible to those who
 loved them not, so, about the same time, they

gave another Instance of Severity, which rendered their Government no less revered amongst their Friends, and Associates. The brave Defence of *Glocester*, and the great Success that attended it, made the loss of *Bristol* the more felt by the Parliament; and consequently the delivery, and yielding it up, the more liberally spoken of, and censured. The which Colonel *Fiennes* having not patience to bear, he desired, being a Member of the House of Commons, and of a swaying Interest there, "that he might be put to give an Account of it, at a Court of War, which was the proper Judicature upon trespasses of that Nature." And in the mean time, he was powerful enough, upon some collateral, and circumstantial passages, to procure some of the Chief who inveighed against him, to be imprisoned, and reprehended. This begot greater Passion and Animosity in the Persons, that thought they suffered unjustly, and only by the Authority, and Interest of the Colonel and his Father; which, by degrees, brought Faction into the House of Commons, and the Army, according to the several Affections and Tempers of Men.

There were but two Prosecutors appeared, one Mr. *Walker*, a Gentleman of *Somerſetſhire*, of a good Fortune, and, by the loss of that, the more provoked; who had been in the Town when it was lost, and had strictly observed all that was done, or said; and the famous Mr. *Pryn*, who had at first let himself into the disquisition of that business, out of the Activity, and restlessness of his Nature, and was afterwards sharpened by contempt. These two, under pretence of Zeal to the Kingdom, and that such an

B O O K
VII.

rendering
Bristol, and
condemned;
but pardoned
by the Ge-
neral.

B O O K

VII.

irreparable damage to it might not pass away without due punishment, undertook the prosecution; and boldly charged the Colonel with Cowardice, and Treachery; and gave several Instances of great and high professions, and performances faint, and not answerable; with some mixtures of pride, and love of Money, throughout the Course of his Government. Colonel *Fiennes*, besides the credit and reputation of his Father, had a very good stock of estimation in the House of Commons upon his own score; for truly he had very good parts of Learning, and Nature, and was privy to, and a great Manager in, the most secret designs from the beginning; and if he had not incumbered himself with Command in the Army, to which Men thought his Nature not so well disposed, he had sure been second to none in those Councils, after Mr. *Hambden's* death. This made him too much despise those who appeared his Adversaries, and others whom he knew to be such, though they appeared not (for he looked upon Sir *William Waller* as an Enemy, who, by his misfortune at *Roundway-Down*, having brought that storm upon *Bristol*, was industrious to make the second loss to be apprehended only as the effect of the other's want of Courage, and Conduct) and being sure, that he was very free from wishing well to the King, he thought no defect would be farther imputed to him, than might well be answered by the having done his Best; and that the eminency of his perfect Zeal against his Majesty, would weigh down all Objections of disservice to the Parliament.

But notwithstanding all this, after a long and solemn

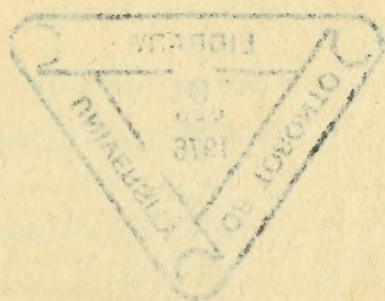
solemn hearing before the Court of War, at *St. Albans*, where the Earl of *Essex* then lay, which took up many days, he was condemned to lose his head, “ for not having defended *Bristol* so well, and so “ long, as he ought to have done.” And though he had afterwards a pardon for his life, granted to him by the Prerogative of the General, under his Hand and Seal, yet the infamy of the judgment could not be taken off; by which he became unfit to continue an Officer of the Army; and the shame of it persuaded him to quit the Kingdom; so that he went for some time into Foreign Parts, retaining still the same full disaffection to the Government of the Church and State, and only grieved that he had a less capacity left to do hurt to either. Many looked upon this Example, as a foundation of great awe, and reverence in the Army, that the Officers might see, that no Titles or Relations should be able to break through the strict discipline of War. For this Gentleman was a Person of singular merit, and fidelity to the Party that he served, and of extraordinary use to them in those Counsels that required the best understandings. Others thought it an Act of unadvised severity, to expose so eminent a Person, who knew all their Intrigues, upon the importunity of useless and inconsiderable Persons, to infamy; whilst others considered it, as a judgment of Heaven upon a Man who had been so forward in promoting the public Calamities: and no doubt, it increased much the Factions and Animosities, both in the Parliament, and the Army; and might have done them farther mischief, if it had not fallen on a Man so thoroughly engaged, that no

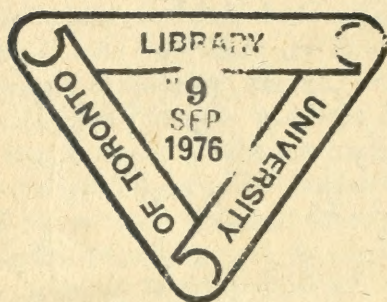
B O O K Provocations could make him less of their Party, or
 VII. less concerned in their Confederacy.

At this time, nothing troubled the King so much as the Intelligence he received from *Scotland*, that they had already formed their Army, and resolved to enter *England* in the Winter-season. All his confidence, which he had founded there upon the Faith, and most solemn Professions of particular Men, without whom the Nation could not have been corrupted, had deceived him to a Man: and he found the same Men most engaged against him, who had, with most solemnity, vowed all obedience to him. The circumstance of the time made the danger of the Invasion the more formidable; for the Earl of *New-Castle*, lately created a Marquis, had been compelled with his Army, as much by the murmurs and indisposition of the Officers, as by the Season of the Year, to quit his design upon *Hull*, and to retire to *York*; and the Garrison of *Hull* had made many strong inroads into the Country, and Defeated some of his Troops; so that the *Scots* were like to find a strong Party in that large County. However, the Marquis sent a good Body of Horse towards the Borders, to wait their motion; and no sooner heard of their march, which begun in *January*, in a great Frost and Snow, than himself marched into the Bishopric of *Durham* to attend them. The particulars of all that Affair, and the whole Transaction of the Northern-parts, where the Writer of this History was never present, nor had any part in those Counsels, are fit for a relation apart; which a more proper Person will employ himself in.

END OF THE SIXTH VOLUME.

The Scots
 enter England,
 in Jan. 1643.





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